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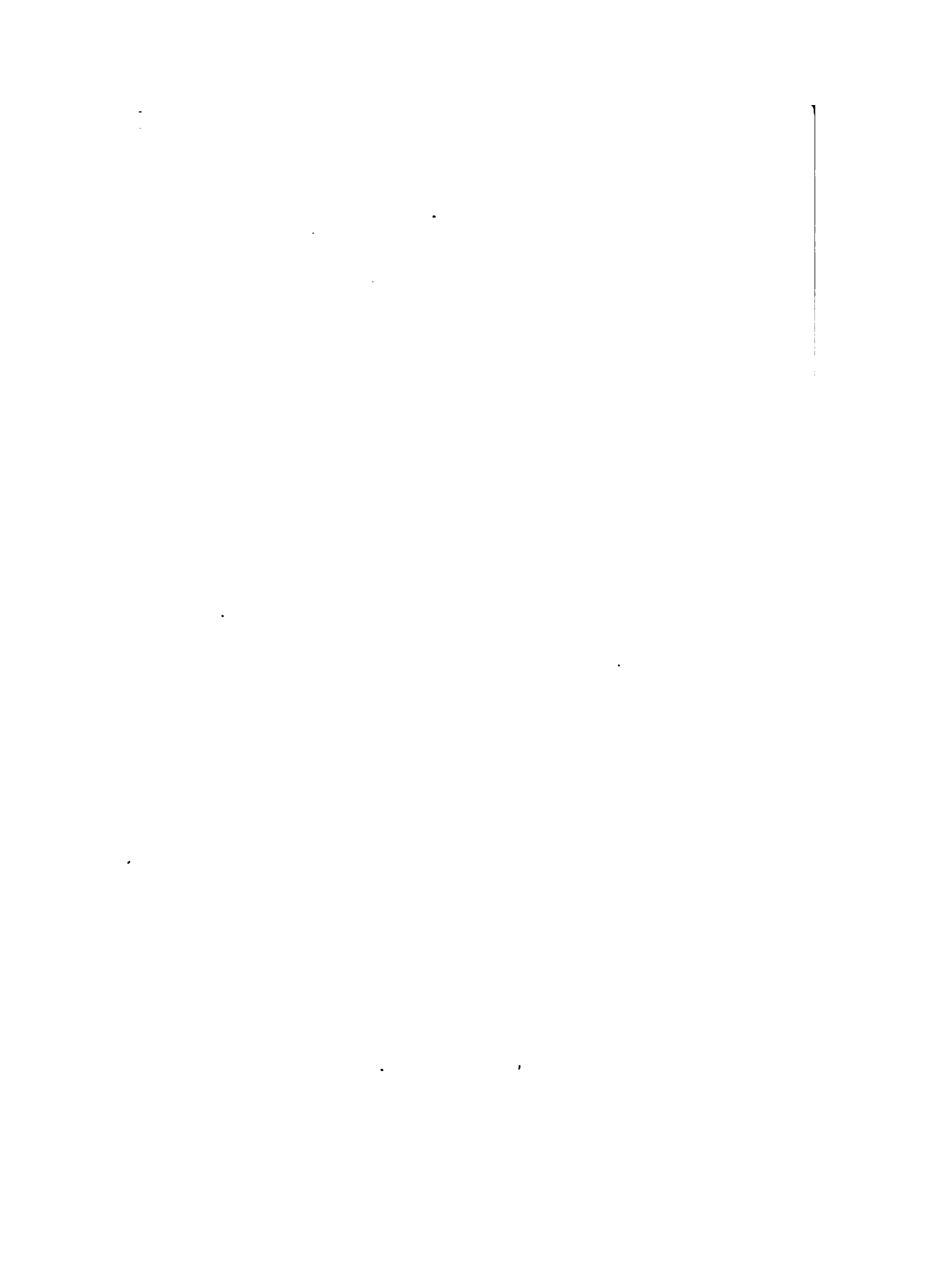
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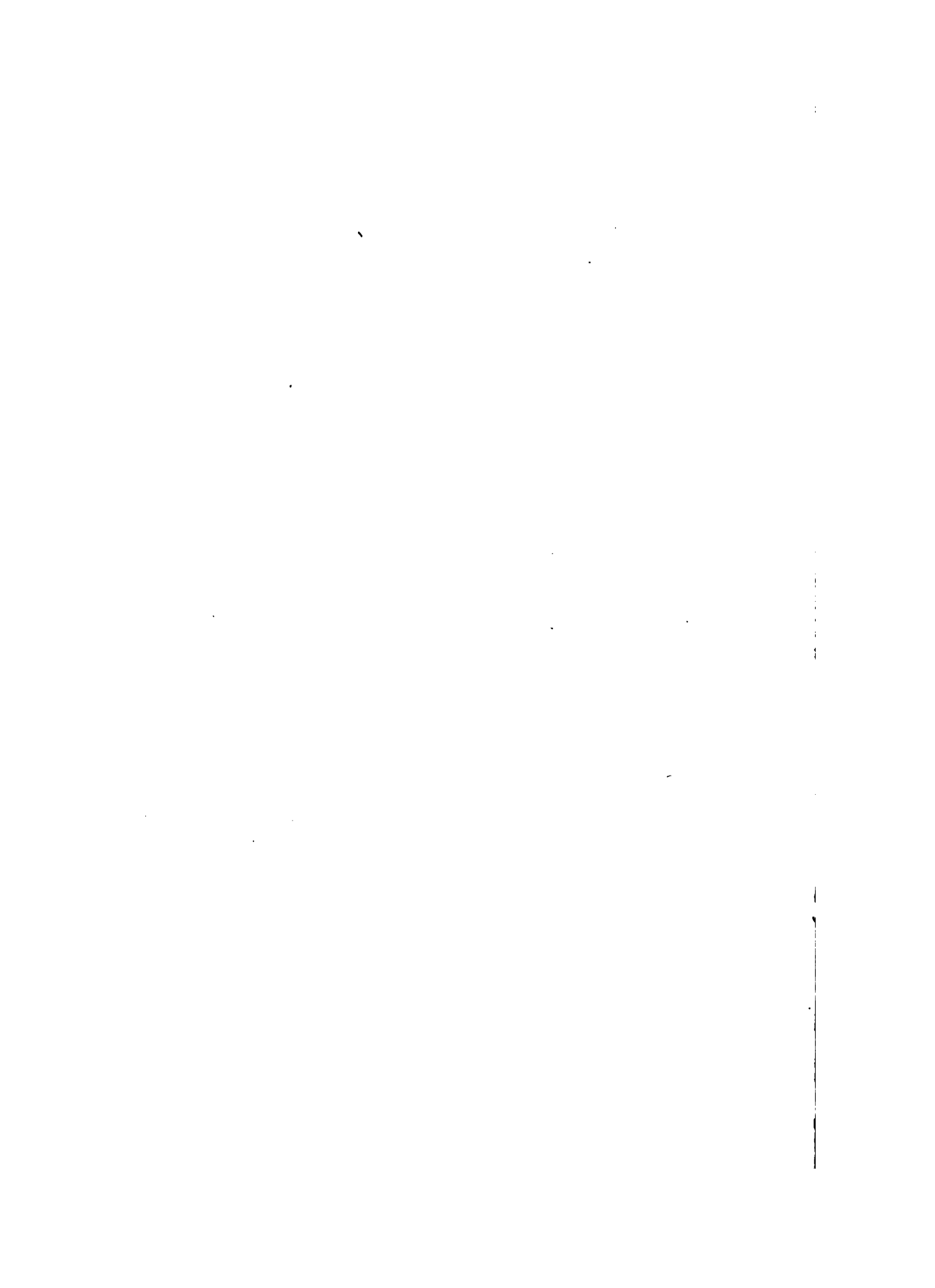
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VOL. XIII.

y Cymmrodor.

The Magazine

Of the Honourable

Society of Cymmrodorion.

*PRODUCED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.*

**LONDON:
ISSUED BY THE SOCIETY,
NEW STONE BUILDINGS, 64, CHANCERY LANE.**

1900.

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

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UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

Y Cymmrodor.

VOL. XIII. "CARED DOETH YR ENCILION." 1899.

Yicar Prichard.

A STUDY IN WELSH BIBLIOGRAPHY.

By JOHN BALLINGER.

THE present chaotic condition of Welsh bibliography would seriously interfere with the work of any historian who desired to write a literary history of Wales, or to take a general survey of the influences which have been moulding the Welsh character during the last three hundred years. I make this remark rather with a view to the future than the past. The amount of pioneer work which has been done by "Gwilym Lleyrn," the Rev. D. Silvan Evans, and others, under circumstances of the greatest difficulty, and circumstances the full force of which are well-known to me, fills me with admiration, for how could a man compile a bibliography when he had no general collection of books to which he could refer and absolutely no catalogues. This absence of Welsh catalogues is the natural outcome of the absence of Welsh collections of books. There are now signs, however, of the collections, at any rate, being more numerous, if one may judge from the rise in prices which has recently characterised the Welsh book-trade.

This condition of things makes it very desirable that

persons who have an opportunity should devote special attention to the bibliography of one man, or group of men, or of one subject, and collect all the facts obtainable and get them printed for future reference. There are plenty of subjects awaiting careful workers.

The bibliography of Griffith Jones, of Llanddowror, for instance, would probably shed much new light upon the history of the eighteenth century revival in Wales, as would also a bibliography of the Trevecca Press, which played a very important part in the religious movements of the last century. The extensive controversy on baptism, again, offers splendid scope for the labours of a patient investigator.

Mr. J. H. Davies has done a very useful piece of work in his account of Welsh editions of the Bible published in the *Transactions* of the Liverpool Welsh National Society, and also in his account of early Welsh books read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion. In the recently published catalogue of the Welsh collection in the Public Library at Cardiff, an effort has been made to lay down lines along which others may travel, by printing suggested bibliographies of important books. These lists were compiled for our own use, but it was thought desirable to put them into print as starting-points for fuller and more complete bibliographies.

One word of caution. We want original work and careful study, not lists made up from matter already in print, accurate and inaccurate. Every point must be made the subject of careful investigation, with the books at the elbow all the time for verification.

A series of bibliographies on these lines would illuminate the later history of Wales as nothing now available can.

The following attempt at a bibliography of Rees Prichard, Vicar of Llandovery, and author of *Canwyll y Cymry*, is put forward as a contribution on the lines indicated, and is the result of enquiries extending over a considerable time, and an examination of nearly every edition recorded in the list.

Rees Prichard was born in 1579, graduated B.A. from Jesus College, Oxford, in June, 1602, and took his M.A. in 1626. He had been ordained in the April previous to taking his degree, and in August of the same year was appointed to the Vicarage of Llandingad and the Chapelry of Llanfair-ar-y-Bryn, both in the town of Llandovery. His fame as a preacher was great, and he is described as being both earnest and eloquent, attacking the frivolity and licentiousness of his age, and introducing into his sermons stanzas written in colloquial Welsh, because, as he said, "set preaching did little good, while a snatch of song was always listened to." The poems written for his sermons were extremely popular during his lifetime, and were quoted everywhere, and it is these poems, collected and published after his death, which form what is known to us as *Canwyll y Cymry*, a name, however, which was not used on the title page until the edition of 1681, the seventh item on my list. The name is taken from the Epistle to the Reader.

Rees Prichard died in 1644, and we are informed in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and in nearly every other account of him, that none of his poems were published during his lifetime, but that a few were printed in 1646 from MSS. then in the possession of Evan Pughe, one of the Vicar's parishioners. This publication is recorded in Rowlands's *Cambrian Bibliography* under the year 1646, but I believe no copy of it is known to have survived.

The statement that none of the Vicar's poems were printed during his lifetime has recently been disproved by Mr. J. H. Davies, who has found one song, "Fanwyl blentyn dere nes," in a small catechism printed in London in the year 1617, of which there is a copy in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

This song is referred to in the address to the reader prefixed to the edition of 1672, brought out by Stephen Hughes. The address, which is in Welsh, says :—

I have been for a considerable time of the opinion that (seeing many perfect things, very finely written with his own hand by the blessed author, and properly arranged in one of the books that came into my hands) he purposed printing a great portion of his own works. In all probability he himself got printed that song, viz.:—Fy Anwyl Blentyn dere nês, &c.—which I saw printed many years before I printed his works. But now, in searching here, in order to make a fourth part, old imperfect papers, difficult to be read, in which the Author had written down his first thoughts, I found out what makes it clear enough, that he intended printing his songs. O how desirable it were, that they had been issued perfected by his own hand. It may be understood from the songs that follow, that he had a mind to dedicate his book to some Lord, and to give it this name, viz., Canwyll y Cymru. For thus he says in an Epistle to the Reader

Gelwais hon yn Ganwyll Cymro,
Am im chwennyech brúdd oleuo,
Pawb o'r Cymru diddysc, deillion,
I wasnaethu Duw yn vnion.*

The author wished to call it *The Welshman's Candle*—but for edition after edition the title was printed, "*Canwyll y Cymru*," which is *The Welshmen's Candle*.

The full title of the little book in which the Vicar's work was first printed is as follows :—

* This I've called the Welshman's Candle
As I wished to truly enlighten
All the unlearned, purblind Welshmen
To uprightly serve their God.

Y
Catechism
nev athrawi-
aeth Gristianogaul, rhwn
y mae pob plentyn y ddys
cu, cyn iddo ef gael y vedydd
Episcob: neu y dderbyn
yr Cummân ben-
digedig.
Imprinted at London
MDCXVII.

The last portion of the book, *i.e.*, “Cyngor Episcob,” is the song by Vicar Prichard (though his name is not given), and begins “Fanwyl blentyn dere nes.” The printer was John Hodgets. The song occupies 14 pages. It would be interesting to discover whether Vicar Prichard is responsible for the whole of the booklet.

Counting the song just mentioned, thirty-four appearances of *Canwyll y Cymry* are now recorded down to 1887. It has also appeared five times in translations, and seven times in selections, or a total of forty-six editions. The following is a tabulated list:—

1. 1617, One Song, “Fanwyl blentyn dere nes,” printed in *Y Catechism neu Athrawiaeth Gristianogaul*, London. The only known instance of the Vicar's work being printed in his lifetime.
2. 1646, part 1. See Rowlands's *Cambrian Bibliography*.
3. 1659, part 2, London, Thos. Brewster.
4. 1659, or later, part 2, London, Thos. Brewster.
5. 1670, part 3, London. [? Printer].
6. 1672, 4 parts, London, J. Darby.
7. 1681, London, Thomas Dawkes.
8. 1696, London, J. Moxon and R. Beardwell.
9. 1713, Shrewsbury, T. Durston.
10. 1714, Shrewsbury, T. Durston.
11. [Circa 1715], Shrewsbury, T. Durston.
12. [Circa 1720], Shrewsbury, T. Durston.
13. 1721, Shrewsbury, John Rogers.
14. 1724, Shrewsbury, John Roger.
15. 1725, Shrewsbury, T. Durston.

16. [*Circa* 1730], Shrewsbury, T. Durston.
17. [*Circa* 1735], Shrewsbury, T. Durston.
18. [*Circa* 1745], Shrewsbury, T. Durston.
19. [*Circa* 1750], Shrewsbury, T. Durston.
20. [*Circa* 1750], Shrewsbury, R. Lathrop.
21. 1752, Carmarthen. [No Printer given.]
22. 1766, Shrewsbury, Stafford Prys.
23. 1770, Llandovery, Rhys Thomas.
24. 1770, Llandovery, Rhys Thomas.
25. 1771, Llandovery, Rhys Thomas.
26. 1776, Carmarthen, John Ross.
27. 1798, Carmarthen, J. Evans.
28. 1807, Carmarthen, J. Daniel.
29. 1807, Carmarthen, J. Evans.
30. 1808, Carmarthen, J. Evans.
31. 1841, Llandovery, W. Rees.
32. 1858, Llandovery, W. Rees.
33. 1867, Llandovery, D. J. Roderic.
34. [1887], Wrexham, Hughes & Son.

Translations.

35. 1771, by W. Evans. Carmarthen, J. Ross.
36. 1785, by W. Evans. London, J. Johnson.
37. 1815, by W. Evans. Merthyr, W. Williams.
38. 1821, by J. Bulmer. Haverfordwest, J. Potter.
39. 1830, by J. Bulmer. London—Haverfordwest, J. Potter.

Selections.

40. 1749, by Griffith Jones. London, John Oliver.
41. 1754, Moravian Hymn Book. London. [Translations].
42. 1758, by Griffith Jones. London, John Oliver.
43. 1766, by Griffith Jones. Shrewsbury, J. Eddowes.
44. [1802]. ? Dolgelly, T. Williams.
45. [1882]. Birthday Book. London, R.T.S.
46. 1888, by T. Levi. Newport, W. Jones.

Commencing with the 1646 edition recorded by Rowlands, the editions of *Canwyll y Cymry* divide naturally into three sections, represented by the places of printing. The work of production was confined during the first period (ending in 1696) to London; during the second (ending in 1766) to Shrewsbury, with the single exception of the edition printed at Carmarthen in 1752, and during the

third period (ending in 1867) to Carmarthenshire (Llandovery and Carmarthen.) The only long gaps in the continuous publication occur between 1696 and 1713, 1776 and 1798, and between 1808 and 1841, though it is remarkable that at the close of the nineteenth century the demand for the old Vicar's book has not called for any frequent reprinting.

We will take these groups in order—the London group coming first. Except the one song already referred to, the earliest appearance of any of the Vicar's work was in 1646, two years after his death, and as already stated, no copy is known to have survived of this edition. Rowlands, in his *Cambrian Bibliography*, calls this two parts, but it was only one, and brought out under the editorship of Stephen Hughes. Some of the information about Rhys Prichard given in the *Cambrian Bibliography* was supplied by Mr. Wm. Rees, of Llandovery, the well-known printer, and he is responsible for the statement that two parts of the Vicar's work were issued in 1646, and a third part in 1670. As already stated, the 1646 edition was one part only, and the second was issued in 1659, a fact which does not appear to have been known to Mr. Rees, but he distinctly says that he had never been able to hear of a copy of the 1646 edition. As bearing on this question of the early editions, it is interesting to note that on the last page of the 1659 edition, No. 3 in my list, it is stated that "this is the third time that this book has been printed." The reference to the third time may be construed as applying to one song only, viz., that which appears in the catechism of 1617, but however that may be, one thing is certain, before 1659 the Vicar's work had been printed twice, and I fully expect a copy of the 1646 book to turn up some day.

Passing on to the 1659 edition, we are on firmer ground.

There is a copy of No. 3 in the list in the British Museum, and Mr. J. H. Davies has a fragment of No. 4. Both these are probably what Stephen Hughes in the 1672 Preface calls the second part of the Vicar's work, but this is only a guess, and must remain so until the earlier work turns up. A copy of the titlepage and a collation of the contents of No. 3 will be found in the appendix, and No. 4 apparently is the same, except the last page, which contains an address, "To the Reader," signed "H. M." In the B. M. copy this address begins, in Welsh, but I translate, "Beloved Welshmen—This is the third time this book has been printed," etc. In Mr. Davies's copy, however, "third time" has been changed to "fourth time," and there are other small variations in the address, which prove it to be a re-issue. The date of the re-issue was probably later than 1659.

This address is quaint, and I have had it translated from the second issue of 1659, incorporating, however, some words from the first issue, obviously omitted by the printer—who is probably also responsible for putting the date as "39 Tachwedd"!

TO THE READER.

Beloved Welshman,

This is the fourth time this book has been printed, and in order that thou and all thy countrymen may more clearly understand and more easily read this song, some pains have been taken to correct some errors, and to explain some words, on the margin of the leaf, at least; so that my dear neighbours in North Wales might partake more fully of the beneficial knowledge found in this booklet. Therefore, take advice and exhortation to read this excellent song, and receive it as a message from God,—as the voice of Mr. Prichard (the author) from the grave, and as the first fruit of the light of God in Wales in the age just passed. And so that thou mayst have life and benefit to thy soul from the reading of this book, consider these three things for thy instruction:—Firstly, endeavour to apply and possess, and adapt what thou mayst read in it, to thine own soul and special condition; secondly, beware lest the arrangement of these truths in the form of metre lighten [or make frivolous] thy heart whilst reading

them, and excite thy silly passions. Much of that frivolous spirit and vain amusement obtain among the Welsh even to this day; but beseech thou God to utterly sever and mortify thy heart from such vanity and perishable pleasure, and consider thou the truth of the lessons—not the song—and that profoundly, seriously, and in a sober spirit. Thirdly, place this booklet, and every other means ordained of God for salvation, together with thine own heart, at the foot of the Lord, and pray earnestly that he may bestow a blessing upon the means and upon thy heart; so that thou mayst enjoy it in and through all his gracious means. This is written on request, and so that thou mayst perform this, its weak shoulder bears my prayer in addition thereto, and that of my own true will, who am,

Thine in the Lord,

39 November, 1658.

H. M.

“H. M.” is probably Henry Maurice, an Independent Minister, who was the friend of Stephen Hughes; an account of him will be found in Dr. Thomas Rees’s *History of Protestant Nonconformity in Wales*.

Twelve years elapsed between the publication of the second and third part. The delay was caused by the curtailment of the liberty of the press and the troubled times which followed the passing of the Act of Uniformity. We are told that the ultimate issue of the third part in 1670 was due to the good offices of Dr. William Thomas, Dean of Worcester, through whom sanction was obtained for its publication.

Its appearance is duly recorded by Rowlands, but no perfect copy is known to me, though a fragment was recently discovered by Mr. J. H. Davies. The title is wanting; the fragment begins sig. A 2—with an address from Stephen Hughes to the parishioners of Llandoverly, dated June 18, 1670. This is followed by “A letter to the Welsh who will read this book,” of which I translate some passages:—

My Dear Countrymen,

I am now sending amongst you a third part of the works of Mr. Prichard, of Llandoverly, hoping for the same blessing upon it as

followed the other two parts: after printing which, multitudes learnt to read Welsh, and bought Testaments and Bibles: and so knowledge and godliness increased in Wales.

* * * * *

If any of you wish to buy "Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb," "Y Llwybyr Hyffordd i'r nefoedd," "Catechism Mr. Perkins," and his "Agoriad byrr ar weddi'r Arglwydd," and "Hanes y ffydd neu'r ffydd ddiffuant," in Welsh, enquire for them at the shops wherein they sell books: and if the merchants see that there is a probability of selling many of those books, I daresay some of them will lay out their money towards printing them. And as to the Welsh Bible, it will be long before it will be printed, unless some monied [arianog] men lay out a thousand pounds towards printing it; the booksellers in London say, we will not lay out our money with this work, because an impression of 6,000 Welsh Bibles will take twenty years, or fourteen years, to sell (while we are selling about 30,000 English Bibles every year), and we, who live by our crafts, cannot wait so long without having our money back. And therefore, my countrymen, petition the reat people, the Bishops, and the ministers and monied merchants, to lay out their money (if they have any love for Christ and the souls of men) towards this good work, so that you will not be ruined from the want of knowledge. Hos. 4. 6.

* * * * *

June 22, 1670.

S. H.

This book and the foundation of religion are sold by Mr. Goff at Carmarthen, Mr. Vertue at Abergavenny, Mr. Mathew Jones at Swansea, Mr. Thomas Joseph at Bridgend-upon-Ogmore.

Two years later, in 1672, Stephen Hughes issued the whole book in four parts, and of this there are several copies in existence. The titlepage is quaint, being given in both Welsh and English. The English part is as follows:—

The works of Mr. Rees Prichard sometimes Vicar of Llandovery in Carmarthen-shire: printed before in three books, but now printed together as one book, though not in the same order as formerly (for a reason given in the preface); with an addition in many things out of manuscripts not seen before by the publisher, besides a fourth part now the first time imprinted. To be sold in Wales for 3s. 6d., bound.

The first item in this volume is an address to the Rev. Dr. William Thomas (Dean of Worcester), Mr. Hugh

Edwards, of Llangaddock, in the county of Carmarthen, Mr. David Thomas, of Margam, Mr. Samuel Jones, of Llangynwyd [known as Samuel Jones, of Brynllwarch], Mr. William Lloyd, of St. Petrox, in the county of Pembroke, ministers of the Gospel. In this address, which is dated "London, March 20, 1671," the editor, Stephen Hughes, refers to the assistance which has been given to him in the work of printing the New Testament, the Psalms, and the Catechism of Mr. Perkins, which were about to be issued.* He also appeals strongly for the whole of the Bible to be reprinted in the Welsh language, saying that it had become very scarce, not more than fifty copies being left unsold.† The passage giving reasons for another Welsh edition is worth translating. He says :

There is a desire on the part of many in our country to buy Bibles as well as Testaments, in Welsh, as the merchants of Wales know full well by the demand which has been frequently made for them during many years at their shops, where they are not to be got for money. There is not left here [*i.e.*, in London], but about half a hundred of them, and those so dear that it is impossible for workmen and people in service, especially poor shepherds, to obtain any, because they must pay more in the country than is paid here for them. However uninstructed and uncared for such ones may be, yet we must think that each one of them has as precious a soul to be saved or lost, as the soul of the greatest prince in the world, and consequently they deserve to be remembered as well as others. Such [people] cannot possibly make any use in the world of the English Bible, neither can thousands of heads of families in Wales, because the language is strange to them. And if, for many generations, thirteen hundred learned conscientious Englishmen were to keep schools at the same time in the thirteen counties of Wales, to teach English to our fellow-countrymen : yet, it were impossible for the commonalty of our country

* The New Testament and the Psalms were issued in Welsh in 1672, but the Catechism of Mr. Perkins was not issued until 1677.

† The Welsh Bible given under the date 1671 in Rowlands's *Cambrian Bibliography* is an error.

to lose the language of their mothers for the five hundred years that would follow, if the world lasts as long. For only some of the commonalty are able to keep their children in school. And those that can be kept there, after learning English in school, must say [talk] Welsh at home, else they will not be understood; and when they grow up to be heads of families themselves, it is known that it is Welsh they must say [talk] among their kindred, and generally in the fairs and markets. And how by this time [*i.e.*, therefore] is the Welsh language to be lost? And yet, this is the kind of thing some [people] fancy; and thereupon opine that it is not good to print any kind in the world of Welsh books to maintain the language; but that it is becoming for the people to lose their language and learn English. Very good. But let such remember, that it is easier to say a mountain than to cross it.

There is a "Preface to the Reader," which is signed by Stephen Hughes, and dated London, March 22, 1671, followed by a Table of Contents, and a further address "To the Reader," from which I have already quoted a reference to the song printed in the Vicar's lifetime. The poem beginning "Gogoniant Duw, a lles Brittainiaid," prefixed to subsequent editions under the heading "Llythyr arall at y Darlennydd fel y mae'n dybygol," is then given, and is followed by "Llythyr yr Awdwr at ryw Eglwyswr a ddeisyfodd arno droi ar gân Catechism Eglwys Loeger," (A letter from the author to some Churchman who entreated him to turn the Catechism of the Church of England into song); which the author did, and his rhymed version of it will be found in the text. A note at the foot of the last page of introductory matter states that "the Testament, this book, and the Catechism of Mr. Perkins, and other things with it, can be obtained from Mr. Goff in Carmarthen, Mr. Badville in Chester, Mr. Verthey in Abergavenny, Mr. Hughes in Wrexham, and in Swansea." No name is given for Swansea, but Stephen Hughes himself lived there.

The editor had originally allowed himself one forme for the introductions, but, as is not unusual, he under-

estimated, and three formes, or 48 pages, are filled with the preliminaries; these sheets bear the signatures "A," "a," and "(*)". The poem commences page 1, signature B, "O Cais gwr na gwraig na bachgen," the second poem being "Hil Frutus fab Sylfus, Britanniaid brwd hoenus." This order was followed by all the editions before 1770, but Rhys Thomas, of Llandovery, reversed it, putting "Hil Frutus" first, and from this date the order varied with the taste of the editor or printer. Professor Rice Rees's edition, 1841, has "Hil Frutus" first.

On pp. 273-5 is a long note by Stephen Hughes about the Vicar's rhymed version of the Catechism. Mr. Hughes says that he omitted part of this poem from the former edition of the third part of the Vicar's work, because "he was not desirous to displease anybody by telling his mind about some small things in it which were not relevant to the salvation of the people." He goes on "I foresaw, that there would be divisions, and wranglings, and quarrels, and controversies concerning these things, which within the knowledge and experience of hundreds, if not thousands, of Christians who have known grace, is an hindrance rather than a help to spiritual edification." The effort to avoid controversy by suppressing a part of the "Catechism" was, however, not a success, for Mr. Hughes says that offence was taken, and anger shown, and for this reason he now prints the entire poem, adding a long explanatory commentary of his own. On pages 491-499 is given Archbishop Usher's "Daily Examination," and on pages 500-509, a collection of Welsh Proverbs taken from the Dictionary of Dr. John Davies, of Mallwyd, 1632. Then follows the fourth part of the Vicar's Work, to which a separate titlepage appears. At the end of the fourth part is printed for the first time the song to welcome the return of Prince Charles from Spain. This song was

omitted from the subsequent editions until Durston added it to that printed in 1725 (No. 15 in my list).

The next edition, 1681, is called "Canwyll y Cymru, that is to say, the works of Mr. Rees Prichard, sometime Vicar of Llandoverly," and so on, "whereunto is added the strange but true narrative of the chief things spoken and acted by an unclean spirit at Mascon, translated out of French into English by Dr. Peter du Moulin upon the desire of the Hon. Robt. Boyle, Esq., and now done into Welsh by S. Hughes, of Swansea."

This is the last appearance of the book under the auspices of Stephen Hughes, who died seven years later, in 1688. It omits much of the prefatory matter which appeared in the 1672 edition, and also the long explanation of the "Catechism." The poem by Stephen Hughes, "Cynghor i'r Llyfyr," which first appeared in 1672, is reprinted, slightly revised and much shortened, many verses being omitted. The welcome to Prince Charles is omitted, but a dialogue between two Welshmen on conjurers, wizards, and the like, has been added. This is known as "Dau Gymro," and was not reprinted until 1725, when Durston describes it (and the Welcome to Prince Charles) as "a sixth part never before printed." I shall have something to say later on about Durston's tricks. The "Adroddiad Cywir" referred to on the titlepage, appears at the end of the book, with separate titlepage, pagination, and signatures. It is very likely, therefore, that, in addition to being appended to the Vicar's book, it was printed and sold separately. This is its first appearance, and it is worth noting that "S. H. o Abertawe", *i.e.* Stephen Hughes, is given as the translator. He prints a preliminary letter of eight pages dated "Abertawe, y 13 o Ffis Hydref 1680," all against witchcraft, and appends a further letter, three pages, some of which is worth quoting.

I give a translation :—

* * * * *

I hope that the treatise of Mr. Holant [Robert Holland] (formerly the minister of Llanddowror, in Carmarthenshire), will be the means of preventing the common people of Wales, from going in future (as they are wont to do to this day) to conjurers, wizards, and witches, to get their fortune read, etc.

* * * * *

It were well for those who have not these books to buy them, viz. :—

Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb.
Hanes y Ffydd.
Cyfarwydd-deb i'r An hyfarwydd.
Bellach neu Byth.
Galwad i'r Annychweledig.
Canwyll Christ.

And look out in a year's time (if some shall live) for "Y Llwybr Hyffordd i'r Nefoedd," in print, which has been the means of doing much good in Welsh and in English.

STEPHEN HUGHES.

London, 1680, Dec. 6.

I am uncertain as to the inference to be drawn from the first paragraph in the extract just given. Is Mr. Holland the author of the Dialogue between two Welshmen, "Dau Gymro"? Rowlands interprets the passage in this sense,* and it is quite likely that he is correct. If so, "Dau Gymro" may have been in print before 1681. Very little is known about Robert Holland. He wrote a Welsh book on prayer, "Darmerth, neu Arlwy Gweddi," which is given in Rowlands under the year 1600, and translated the Catechism of Mr. Perkins into Welsh. He was also the author of "The Holy historie of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ's Nativitie," published in 1594. He was born in the year 1557 and died about 1622.

The next edition, 1696, was printed in London by J. Moxon and B. Beardwell for D. Jones. In all the copies

* *Cambrian Bibliography*, p. 223.

I have seen the title is followed by the poetical address from the author to a noble lord, but as this poem begins on Sig. B 2, and the titlepage, at any rate, of one copy is pasted to folio B 8, it is clear that for some reason pages are missing in all the copies. Either the missing pages were printed and afterwards cancelled, or it was intended to insert a preface, but the intention was abandoned, or all the copies seen by me are defective. The rhymed address to the reader is on the verso of Sig. B 2, the poem, "O Cais Gwr," begins on page 1, sig. B 3, and "Hil Frutus" on page 10.

The text of the 1681 edition is followed throughout, slavishly followed page for page, even the catchword DAV on page 456 (wrongly numbered 556) being copied, though "Dau Gymro" is not printed in this edition. A fifth part called "Caersalem newydd" is now printed for the first time, but not having a printed copy to follow, the printers and reader have made numerous mistakes in the ten pages containing this poem. Some of these mistakes I have noted in the appendix. The beginning of the poem may be paraphrased "Ye Britons of South Wales, and all parts, hear the voice of a churchman who tries to call you to paradise." This poem was reprinted in all the Shrewsbury editions.

The poems are followed by Perkins's "Sail y Grefydd," a catechism on the foundations of religion in six questions, and by the Welsh alphabet and words of one syllable designed to teach people to read, the alphabet being printed in four different types. This "egwyddor" became a common feature of Welsh books in the 18th century, particularly, I believe, of those issued under the auspices of Griffith Jones, Llanddowror, who was so active in organising means whereby the Welsh people could be taught to read. This is its first appearance in *Canwyll y Cymry*,

but it had been printed as early as 1649 in Perkins's "Sail y Grefydd," which accounts for its appearance here.

David Jones, who brought out this issue of the *Canwyll*, was a friend of Stephen Hughes, and took an active part in procuring the publication and circulation of the Bible and other books in the Welsh language. Very little is known of his history, but there are some notes of his life in Rees's *History of Nonconformity in Wales*, where it is said that he helped to bring out the edition of 1681, an error for 1696.

This ends the first or London group of editions, confined, it will be noticed, to the 17th century.

THE SHREWSBURY EDITIONS.

Taking the second group of editions, those printed at Shrewsbury in the 18th century, we find remarkable activity in the production of the book, combined with the low-water mark as regards editing and the interpolation of spurious poems. As is well known, Shrewsbury was at this time a most important centre for the production of Welsh books. It is a strong proof of the hold which the Vicar's book had over the Welsh people, that in the years 1713-1766 fourteen editions were issued, thirteen from Shrewsbury and one from Carmarthen. We have no direct evidence as to the number printed for each edition, but from the frequency with which copies turn up, it must have been considerable.

The printers of the Shrewsbury editions were Thomas Durston, John Rogers, Richard Lathrop, and Stafford Prys.

With regard to John Rogers, much confusion has resulted from two paragraphs in Rowlands's *Cambrian Bibliography*, pp. 311 and 341, where it is stated that he

and another Shrewsbury printer, John Rhydderch (who also called himself John Roderick), are identical. Rowlands's statement has misled several writers, who have accordingly treated John Rogers and John Rhydderch as one and the same person, and I have spent many hours trying to make all the facts before me fit in with the one-man theory, with the result that I have proved that John Rogers and John Rhydderch are two persons.

John Rhydderch, who printed in Shrewsbury from 1714 to 1728, is known as Sion Rhydderch, and also as John Roderick, the English form of the name, which he used when printing an English book. He also used his initials J. R., and Rowlands says on one occasion he called himself John Hydderch; but Canon Silvan Evans points out in a note that, in his copy of the book from which this quotation is made, the R is not omitted, so that the copy which Rowlands saw was a defective one, and John Hydderch disappears so far as that particular book is concerned; but there remains a use of the initials "J. H.," always supposed to be John Hydderch, in connection with the later Shrewsbury editions of *Canwyll y Cymry*. This point will be discussed in its proper place.

John Rogers, the other Shrewsbury printer, flourished, or perhaps it would be more correct to say, printed books, between the years 1719 and 1725, and it was he who brought out editions of *Canwyll y Cymry* in 1721 and 1724.

My conclusion that these two men were contemporary printers at Shrewsbury has been arrived at after a careful study of the books printed by both. In the case of Rhydderch it will be found that all the Welsh books issued from his press bear the Welsh form of his name (John Rhydderch), while the only book he printed in English, *The Display of Heraldry*, by John Davies, of

Llansilin, bears the English form (John Roderick). His printing was better than Rogers's, and his office was certainly better furnished with type.

The books printed by John Rogers, however, bear that name without variation. The first book he printed was the *Testament y deuddeg patriarch* (Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs) in 1719. Two years later (1721) he printed *Canwyll y Cymry*; in 1722 four books, and in 1724 another edition of *Canwyll y Cymry* and *Hanes y Byd*, by Simon Thomas. Amongst the books printed by him in 1722 is the *Book of Common Prayer*, with *Llyfr y Psalman Edmund Prys*. On the last page of the *Prayer Book* is an advertisement stating that John Rogers is a bookseller in Shrewsbury, that he prints and sells Welsh books, and that certain books can be had from him. He then gives a list, which includes all the Welsh books we have assigned to John Rogers, but none of those assigned to John Rhydderch. This, to my mind, is conclusive evidence of the existence of two contemporary printers, named respectively John Rogers and John Rhydderch or Roderick.

There are many minor proofs which it is unnecessary to press after what has been said; but it may be worth while to mention that in 1718 John Rhydderch brought out an edition of *Holl ddyledswydd dyn* ("The Whole Duty of Man"), translated by Edward Samuel, and in 1722 John Rogers brought out an edition of the same book by another translator. Each of them also issued an edition of the *Book of Common Prayer*. Rhydderch dated his books in Arabic numerals; Rogers, with one exception, dated his in Roman.

I assume, therefore, that Rowlands was mistaken, and every writer since, relying upon him, has added to the confusion.

About John Rhydderch, John Rogers, and Thomas Durston there is a story in connection with the printing of *Canwyll y Cymry*, which at one time appeared too complicated for solution, but the recognition of Rhydderch and Rogers as two individuals smooths out the kinks in the chain.

John Rhydderch, we are told in Williams's *Montgomeryshire Worthies*, settled in Shrewsbury as a printer about the year 1708, and carried on business there for about twenty years, printing and publishing many Welsh books. He retired, in fact, some time in or before 1729, when he was in London. He printed his own grammar at Shrewsbury in 1728. It is said that he sold his business to Durston, and this is borne out by the fact that the printing and sale of Rhydderch's books were carried on by Durston after 1729.

It is probable, however, that Rhydderch first went to Shrewsbury as a printer in the employ of Durston, and while so engaged prepared for the press Durston's first edition of *Canwyll y Cymry*. The publisher expressly states in a later edition that it was made ready for the press by the hand of a clever Welshman. Afterwards, about the year 1714, John Rhydderch started business on his own account, and an estrangement resulted between Rhydderch and Durston lasting for some years, and marked by some spiteful acts on the part of Durston.

The first Shrewsbury edition of *Canwyll y Cymry*, called the fourth edition on the titlepage, is ascribed to the year 1713 in my list, and is only known from the titlepage which is bound up with the next edition. It is probably identical with the next (1714), to which a new titlepage, the address to Rev. John Vaughan, and the preface, have been added, the old titlepage being also retained. The fact that the titlepage of 1713 is sig. B 1

is explained by reference to the edition of 1696, from which the signatures were copied, as well as the text.

Durston evidently reckons only the editions of 1672, 1681, and 1696, before his own of 1713, which he calls the fourth, while the new titlepage, issued in 1714, describes the book as the fifth edition. This is the only Durston issue with a date on the titlepage. The address to the Rev. and Hon. John Vaughan, of Derllys, in Carmarthen-shire, thanks him for having helped forward the production of the book, and also of the "Dwyfolder Gymmunol" appended to it. This address is signed "John Rhydderch," and is followed by a preface beginning "Anwyl Gyd-wladwyr",* also signed "John Rhydderch." Then we get "An Account of the Reverend Mr. Rees Prichard," etc., constantly reprinted, which ends forme A. Forme B1 is the titlepage of the 4th edition, B2 the letter to a noble lord, B2 verso the letter to the reader, and the text begins on B3, following the London edition of 1696. The fifth part, "Caersalem Newydd," ends the text. The index is a reprint from 1696, with a few verbal corrections, as is also the "Sail Grefydd" and the "A.B.C."

The volume contains 24 more pages, 22 of them being the title and text of the "Dwyfolder Gymmunol," and the remainder advertisements, viz. :—Durston's list of books, and an offer by J. Meredith, of High Street, Shrewsbury, to teach the arts and sciences, including writing. Mr. Meredith advertises in English and in Welsh.

The titlepage of the "Dwyfolder Gymmunol" states that it is translated out of English into Welsh by John Rhydderch. It was reprinted in Durston's two succeeding issues of the *Canwyll*, but the name of John Rhydderch was dropped from the titlepage.

* Dear Fellow-countrymen.

Durston's third issue of the *Canwyll* I have assigned to *circa* 1715, and the fourth to *circa* 1720. Both these are called "chweched" (sixth) on the titlepage, but there are slight differences in them. The address to the Rev. J. Vaughan appears in 1715, but not in 1720. It is the same address, word for word, as in the 1714 issue, but John Rhydderch's name has been removed and Thomas Durston's substituted. The preface was also reprinted word for word in 1715 and 1720, but here again Durston removed Rhydderch's name and introduced his own.

If my theory is correct that John Rhydderch was from 1708 to 1713 in the employ of Durston, and that in the latter year he started in business as a printer on his own account, the action of Durston in removing his former assistant's name out of spite can be understood, but to substitute his own name was dishonest.

The issues of the book by Durston have a peculiarity of their own, which enables them to be divided into two groups, which I call the 1713 group and the 1725 group. There were four issues of the former, viz. :—1713, 1714, *circa* 1715, and *circa* 1720, and of the latter seven, five by Durston and one each by Lathrop and Prys.

Rhys Prichard wrote in the song, "Am Ddiwedd y Byd" (Of the End of the World) :—

"Mil a chwechant aethont heibio,
O'r oes hon ac ugain cryno ;
Fe all pawb wrth hynny wybod,
Nad oes fawr o hon heb ddarfod."*

* One thousand and six hundred years,
With twenty more as it appears,
Of this are now elapse'd—then mind
There can't be much of it behind.

Evans's translation, 1771.

In the first group of the Durston editions the date in this stanza was altered to 1713, thus,

“Mil a seithgant aethant heibio,
A thair ar ddeg o'r oes mor gryno.”

Later on he again altered it to 1725, thus,

“Mil a Seithgant aethant heibio,
A phump ar hugain o'r oes mor gryno.”

It was by means of this clue that the first step was taken towards the classification of the Shrewsbury editions.

Up to 1720, Durston merely reprinted the book as prepared for the press by John Rhydderch, but in 1721 John Rogers issued an edition of *Canwyll y Cymry* from his press, dedicated to Adam,* Lord Bishop of St. David's. In the dedication he informs the bishop that the edition now published he has “caused to be revised by all the former and purged from their errors, so that, my lord, I may justly say it is the most compleat and correct of any yet published. It is true, another edition has lately been printed at *Salop*, corrected by the printer of it, who knows as little of the British tongue as I do of the Phœnician language, and, as I am informed, has above 4,000 errors in it, for which reason, to do the late Vicar justice, I send this abroad improved by the best hand, and was it possible to obtain some other translations which the author made, or could his exposition of the 39 articles be recovered, I would loose no pains or costs to have them published, but I fear they expired with the author in the year 1644, as well as his charity of £20 per annum for a free school.”

Apparently John Rogers's edition met with success, and in 1724 he issued another, without the dedication and

* Adam Ottley, Bishop 1713-1723.

omitting all reference to any other edition of the work or to the merits of his own. His caustic reference to the errors in the other edition printed at Shrewsbury had, however, stung his rival, Thomas Durston, and may have been the means of promoting a reconciliation between Durston and Rhydderch, for in 1725 Durston brought out another edition, and on the titlepage he informs the public that it is "printed together in six parts more fully and completely than in any other edition that has ever before been issued, minutely revised and carefully corrected of several bad errors and mistakes by John Rhydderch." The last part of the sentence is two-edged. It is not clear whether John Rhydderch made the errors or corrected them. A note at the end of the book is less ambiguous, it says:—

"This is to inform you that the Vicar of Llandoverly's book has just been printed by Thomas Durston, to which has been added the Sixth Part never before printed, and 'Hanes Tudur a Gronwy.' This is the most correct edition ever yet issued, the errors of which have been carefully corrected by 'John Rhydderch.' Therefore, it has been thought necessary to acquaint you, so that the country may not be deceived and disappointed in buying a book of another man's printing, which throughout is full of errors, with whole lines and words omitted, together with hundreds of other literal errors, which may be easily seen by comparing both books with each other."

A compromise between Durston and Rhydderch appears to have been arrived at, for John Rhydderch's name appears on the titlepage, and Durston's initials at the end of the Preface, where he says that he

"set to work to reprint it this seventh time, hoping that it will this time have a full welcome as it was wont to have in Wales: in which you will have the whole work of the Vicar fuller than in any of the previous editions, to which has been added the sixth part never before printed, the Story of Tudur and Gronwy,* the Song to Welcome

* Otherwise known as "Dau Gymro," see 1681 edition.

King Charles the First home from Spain, when he was Prince of Wales, also you may expect this edition to be, not only fuller, but purer from errors and mistakes than any previous edition. And although another edition of the Vicar's work is amongst you, full of monstrous errors, and whole lines omitted, and words too, in consequence of which it has been necessary to sell such for half the value of the book, were it but approximately correct. Therefore my hope is that none of you may think that he lays out his money so unprofitably, and that you will never regret [buying] this book, because it has gone through the hand of a clever Welshman, who carefully corrected the errors of the press, and whatever else that occurred erroneously in the previous editions. I have now but to present it into your hands, without doubting but that this is the most perfect that has come from your

“Obedient servant,

“T. D.”

The two editions of John Rogers are ignored by Durston when he says that he reprints the book for the seventh time, and incidentally he supports my view that the issues of 1713 and 1714 were the same book with a new titlepage, or this would have been the eighth reprint as Durston counted.

An examination of the Durston editions of 1713 and 1725 respectively does not, however, bear out the boastful publisher's claims. The mistakes in the 1713 edition are numerous enough—whether they really number about 4,000, as John Rogers asserts, I cannot say,—but the mistakes in the “revised” Durston of 1725 are very bad; a few trifling things are certainly improved, but in the main the later Durston edition is much worse than the earlier.

Durston's statement that he has added a sixth part *never before printed* is untrue, because as I have already pointed out, “*Dau Gymro*,” or, as he calls it, the “*Story of Tudur and Gronwy*,” appeared in 1681, and the “*Song of Welcome to Prince Charles*” in 1672. The fact is that the editor of Durston's 1725 edition had come across

a copy of the 1672 issue, and taken from it the Welcome to Prince Charles, and the poem by Stephen Hughes, "Cynghor i'r Llyfr."* He had also obtained certain poems which the publisher states were received too late for insertion, so they are printed at the end of the book, following the table. These poems are much below the standard of the Vicar's work, and although retained by Durston and his successors in subsequent editions, they have been rejected with the exception of a poem on the great Civil War, which is accepted as genuine by Professor Rice Rees, though Rhys Thomas rejected it in 1770.

The poems received too late for insertion follow the index on a sheet with the signature Kk, and occupy six pages. The first has no title, but begins

"Grâs a Bonedd cyfiawn, ac urddas mawr a bri."

The titles of the others are "Cân ynghylch holl Bresenoldeb Duw," and "Cân ynghylch y Gwrthryfel a dorrodd allan yn y flwyddyn 1641."

In the subsequent Shrewsbury editions they were printed at the end of the text, other short poems being also added from time to time.

The two editions printed by John Rogers are described in the Appendix (Nos. 13, 14). The text is freer from misprints than in the Durston editions, but as it is not the object of this essay to discuss the literary merits of the various editions, I must leave the charge and the counter-charge as to inaccuracy for others to settle. Rogers adheres to the original version of the date in the song, "Am Ddiwedd y Byd."

* The 1725 Durston reprints this poem as it appeared in 1672, not in the revised form of 1681 and 1696.

The "A.B.C." is printed at the end of the 1721 edition, but omitted in 1724, while the latter has a crude woodcut nearly filling half the last page, the first instance of a cut being used, other than headlines or initials. The 1724 is one of the rarest of the 18th century issues.

Attached to one copy of Rogers's 1721 issue is a Catechism preparatory to receiving the Lord's Supper, "for the use of the parish of Chirk, whose inhabitants are partly Welsh and partly English, by R[obert] R[oberts], A.M. and Vicar of the said parish of Chirk. Printed for the Author, 1720." The full title is given in the Appendix.

Nothing further is heard of John Rogers in connection with *Canwyll y Cymry*, and a year later, 1725, his name disappears as a printer of books. Of his history, beyond what has already been set down no trace has been found.

John Rhydderch also left Shrewsbury within a few years, not later than 1729, when he wrote from London to Lewis Morris "Llewelyn Ddu o Fôn."

Durston continued to reprint *Canwyll y Cymry* from time to time, using the preface prepared for him by Rhydderch. John Rogers said of Durston that he knew as little of the British tongue as he (Rogers) did of the Phœnician language. This ignorance on the part of Durston may be the reason why he continued to reprint the preface complaining about a rival edition long after the rival, and probably his book also, had disappeared.

There are two issues bearing the description "Wythfed argraphiad" (8th edition) on the titlepage, assigned to 1730 and 1735 respectively (Nos. 16 and 17 in list). The second is a reprint of the first, with some typographical errors corrected, or possibly some of the sheets containing the text are the same, while sheet A, and one or two others, Hh for instance, were reprinted. It can be identified by the spelling "ymchwanegiad" ("yw-

chwanegiad" in the previous issue) and "Printio" ("Brintio" previously) on the titlepage, and the catchword on sig. A3 verso "Llythyr" (formerly "Llythur").

The name of John Rhydderch has disappeared from the titlepage of the issue of 1730, and it was partly for this reason that the date assigned was chosen. Directly Rhydderch left Shrewsbury, Durston takes the opportunity of resorting to the old dodge of removing the Editor's name from the book. The initials "J. H." are substituted on this and all the subsequent Shrewsbury editions except 1766. It has always been assumed that J. H. stands for John Hydderch, but as already pointed out, the instance given in Rowlands of this variation of Rhydderch's name does not hold good. It may, nevertheless, be correct that J. H. means John Rhydderch.

The issue of *circa* 1745 (No. 18) is called ninth, "nawfed argraphiad," on the title, and eighth, "wythfed," in the preface. The spelling of the catchword on A3 verso again becomes "Llythur," the length of the printed page is less, and the type is smaller, than in the preceding issues, while the printing has improved a little. There is a list of books advertised at the end of the Table, Ii 8 verso.

No. 19, the tenth edition of the titlepage is also called eighth in the preface, and is printed on very inferior paper to No. 18. A list of books is advertised at the end of "Dau Gymro," Ii 6 verso, and the table follows. The date 1750 is assigned to this, the last edition printed by Thomas Durston.

The consideration of No. 20, 1752, Carmarthen, is deferred until the Shrewsbury editions have been disposed of.

The edition printed at Shrewsbury by Richard Lathrop is put by Rowlands under the year 1740, but for reasons which appear to me adequate, I have dated it *circa* 1755.

It is a reprint of the Durston editions, the preface and title being identical, and the initials "T. D." retained at the end of the preface. It is called "Yr Wythfed Argraphiad" on the title and in the preface, and this no doubt is why Rowlands tried to fit it into a place between the Durston issues.

The dates assigned by Rowlands to Lathrop's books are not always correct; to take only two instances: "Trugaredd a Barn" is said to have been printed by him in 1687, and "Cydymaith yr Eglwyswr" in 1699. He did not print either of these books prior to 1740. He was admitted a member of the Booksellers' Guild at Shrewsbury, June 22, 1739,* and in 1764 he is still described as of Salop, Bookseller.†

The latest date given by Rowlands for Lathrop is 1745, but under 1750 he places "Llyfr Meddyginiaeth." This was printed by Lathrop.

I have failed to find any evidence as to when Durston gave up printing. Books are assigned to him as late as 1759, but it must be remembered that he rarely dated his books, and the dates given in Rowlands are only guesses.

If these printers had only put dates upon their books, what a lot of trouble and speculation would have been saved. Stafford Prys, who came immediately after them, has earned our continual gratitude for his thoughtfulness in dating his books.

I have assigned to Lathrop's issue of *Canwyll y Cymry* a date subsequent to Durston's retirement from business, because it is hard to believe that any man would take another's book, and reprint it from end to end, including even the preface and its signature, and that too in the same small town. It is true that very curious acts of

* *Transactions Shropshire Arch. Soc.*, vii, 413.

† *Ibid.*, viii, 392.

piracy were committed by the printers of Welsh books in those days. But this seems too bad.

I find that Lathrop advertises a list of Welsh books, some of them issued from Durston's press, which implies friendly business relations. It is quite likely that towards the end of his career Durston sold to Lathrop whatever rights he possessed in *Canwyll y Cymry*. If that was so, the date suggested is approximately correct, and the appearance of the initials "T. D." at the end of the preface is explained.

Lathrop's edition can be recognised by the woodcuts used as tailpieces on pages vi, 494, 503, and after the index. The printing is better than in most of Durston's issues.

The last of the Shrewsbury issues came from the press of Stafford Prys, and is dated 1766. It is a reprint of the Durston text and accessories, including the preface, but with the initials "S. P." The titlepage varies somewhat. The initials "J. H." are gone, and it is called the 13th edition. It is better printed than either of the preceding Shrewsbury editions.

The Shrewsbury issues from 1725 vary but little, and it is extraordinary that seven issues, from three different presses, should have retained the same preface, almost without variation. In each issue appears the lament about another edition of the Vicar's work "with whole lines left out, and words too." For over forty years this went on. Did either of the three printers know the meaning of what they were printing?

Durston was very bitter about the two editions brought out by John Rogers, and cited his "clever Welshman" to prove the superiority of his own. It will be interesting to read what Rhys Thomas, the Llandovery printer, had to say about it. Before quoting him, however, it will be advisable to deal with the edition printed at Carmarthen

in 1752 and correctly called *Canwyll y Cymry*. The imprint is "Caerfyrddin, Argraphwyd yn y Flwyddyn, MDCCLII." No printer's name is given. There is a small book of Hymns in Welsh by Henry Lloyd dated 1752, with precisely the same imprint, and no printer's name.

Of the Carmarthen printers of the 18th century John Ross is credited with the printing of books from 1743 to 1749, and from 1763 to the end of the century. Rhys Thomas has no book credited to him before 1760. Evan Powel's record is given as being from 1757 to 1764.

The evidence of the typography points to Evan Powel as the printer of the two books issued in 1752. They are not given in Rowlands.

Two woodcuts used as tailpieces in *Canwyll y Cymry* are used in later books bearing Powel's name. It cannot be said positively that it is his work, though it is highly probable. Whoever the printer was, to him belongs the honour of first printing in his native county the works of the great Vicar of Llandovery.

I was at Llandovery last Easter, not for the first time by any means, and found that neglect and indifference still prevail there with regard to the sweet singer who, nearly three hundred years ago, sought to lead the people to Paradise. "Yes, sir," said one of the Llandoverians, "a good many strangers who come here inquire about Vicar Prichard, but you see, the people here don't trouble about him, being so near very likely" !!!

To return to Evan Powel. Mr. Alwyn Evans has kindly looked up for me the registers at Carmarthen, and he informs me that "Evan Powell, son of Christmas Powell," was baptized at St. Peter's, Carmarthen, on Nov. 12th, 1730, and that an Evan Powell was buried at the same church on the 18th Dec. 1772. These are the only entries for that name in the register.

If Evan Powell, baptized in 1730, is the printer, he was only 22 years of age when he printed *Canwyll y Cymry* and the other book in 1752. Does the youthfulness of the printer explain the omission of his name? It may be that there is a simple explanation, if it could only be found.

For his text the Carmarthen printer seems to have relied upon one of the Durston issues, discarding the alteration of date in "Am Ddiwedd y Byd," and the doubtful pieces appended to the second Shrewsbury group. He includes, however, "Caersalem Newydd" (known also as the fifth part) and some of the sixth part as produced by Durston in 1725. The table is given at the beginning, and is followed by the "A. B. C." There is no preface or editorial note of any kind, and the text ends with the Song to Welcome Prince Charles from Spain.

This edition does not appear to be much known, and it cannot be said to possess any special merit, yet it has interested me because of the mystery surrounding it, and as the first produced in the Vicar's own county. Copies are not common so far as I know, and it is not mentioned by Rowlands.

THE CARMARTHENSHIRE EDITIONS.

From the Carmarthen edition of 1752 we move naturally to those brought out at Llandovery and Carmarthen when the Shrewsbury issues ceased. Rhys Thomas was printing at Carmarthen in 1760, and removed to Llandovery in 1764. In 1770 he brought out *Canwyll y Cymry*, newly arranged according to the author's copy, which was obtained from a friend at Brecon.

He refers to the publication of the poems by Stephen Hughes in 1672* from MSS. imperfect and difficult to

* Rhys Thomas did not appear to know of any earlier issue.

decipher, as Mr. Hughes described them, but, he says:—

“No one had a better copy for all the editions. Though some at Shrewsbury dared to add to it what they called a sixth part, it is as easy for an intelligent Welshman to believe that it is the work of the reverend author as to believe the *Cywyddau* of Taliesin ben Bardd ei Oes is the work of the sweet singer of Israel. On this account I omitted it, with the exception of what was taken out of the body of the book, and had it not been that I feared to displease my countrymen, I should not have printed one of them, for what good is it to insert the same verse many times over? But this is not all that was done to him at Shrewsbury: he was robbed of many valuable quatrains. To prove this I have inserted some of them in order that the reader may compare them with the text that I have printed from the author's copy, which providence placed in my hands through a friend at Brecon, according to which I have brought out this edition.”*

In a postscript to the preface the printer regrets that he has not been able to print the names of members of the Society of Cymmrodorion as subscribers, being about 2,000 in number. He explains that the size of the book has exceeded his calculations, because:—

“Comparing the first edition † and the author's MS. copy with the Shrewsbury editions, I saw that they had curtailed it by taking quatrains out of several carols. Out of one not less than nine were taken (see p. 149, Song 45).”

A note follows the postscript, addressed “*Fy Nghyd-wladwyr*,” ‡ which, translated, reads:—

“God, the author of all blessings, ordained that the MSS. of this pious author should be given to me to make the best of them, and by searching them I found that the greater number of them were his sermons, which had been kept in his study at Llandovery from the day of his death until they came into my hand, and God willing, I

* Griffith Jones, Llanddowror, had access to the Vicar's MSS. some years before Rhys Thomas. See *post* under “Selections from *Canwyll y Cymry*.”

† He means the 1672 edition.

‡ My Fellow-countrymen.

shall venture to offer some of them in print to my fellow-countrymen, trusting that they will not have a worse reception than his carols. The first book will be sold at 1s. Whoever wishes to have it let him write (prepaid), so that I may know how many to print. The type and paper will be the same as this. "R. THOMAS."

There were two issues by Rhys Thomas in 1770. The title of the first states that the book contains 351 additional stanzas. In the same year the sheets from pages 1—532 were re-issued, with four extra pages inserted at the end, and a new title stating that the book contains 359 additional stanzas. On reference to page 532 it will be seen that the catchword "TABL" remains in the second issue, which proves that the sheets of the text were not reprinted. This holds good also for the third issue in 1771. Neither was the table reprinted, for it does not contain the poems of the four inserted pages.

For the third issue, 1771, an entirely new titlepage was designed, and the preface was re-cast. It is now dated Jan. 16th, 1771. A poem by Rhys Thomas, "At y Cymry; yn enwedig Anrhydeddus Gymdeithas y Cymrodorion,"* follows the preface, and then comes a fresh notice about the MSS. of the Vicar, which is of so much interest that I reproduce it in a translation:—

"Although I had previously obtained many of the poems of the old Vicar, which had not been before published, all of which are inserted in this book, yet God so ordered it that I should, after the work was printed, have the favour to go with two clergymen, on the 11th January 1771, to the library of E. M. D. Howorth, Esq., of Llandoverly, where we found a great many of the manuscripts of the old Vicar; and among other things, several very excellent poems, some of which were in Welsh and English in alternate stanzas, and a few altogether in English, but the greater part altogether in Welsh. We also found many sermons, and a catechism, etc.; and because it is a pity that those treasures should be buried in oblivion, I intend, with

* To Welshmen, especially the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

God's permission, to publish them in parts, with the same kind of paper and letter as this work, ten sheets for a shilling, and that as long as they last, because I am unable to say how many they may be."

The truth of Rhys Thomas's statement is vouched for by a certificate, in English, printed after the foregoing notice. It reads as follows:—

"On the 11th January, 1771, by examining the papers of the Rev. Rees Prichard, late Vicar of Llandovery, were found many manuscript poems and sermons in the British language, of his own handwriting, that have never yet appeared in print; and as such poems and sermons are (through the indulgence of Ed. M. D. Howorth, Esq., whose property they were) preparing for the press, to succeed the first volume, lately printed at Llandovery aforesaid; We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do assure the public, that they are authentic, which we can the more confidently affirm, as we have compared them with those already printed; and when the second volume of manuscript-poems appear (*sic*) they will be evidence of themselves sufficiently to prove their being entirely genuine, as the elegance and simplicity of the language contain'd therein, are corroborating circumstances of their authenticity, which are scarce to be found in any other author.

EDW. M. D. HOWORTH.

RICHARD LEWIS, *Clerk.*

JEFFREY GRIFFITHS, *Clerk.*"

The best laid schemes of well-intentioned men go astray. Alas! sometime in the year 1771 Rhys Thomas removed from Llandovery to Cowbridge. He was engaged in printing Walters's *Welsh Dictionary*. Walters lived near Cowbridge, and it was found irksome to send proofs to and fro, so Thomas removed his press to Cowbridge. A part of the dictionary dated March, 1771, was printed at Llandovery as the wrapper shows, but the next part, issued sometime in 1772, is dated from the Cowbridge printing office. A sermon by Wesley, translated into Welsh, was issued from Rhys Thomas's press at Cowbridge, dated 1771.*

* This was probably the first book printed in Glamorgan.

Rhys Thomas took with him to Cowbridge the MSS. of Vicar Prichard. What followed is best told in the words of Mr. William Rees, the Llandovery printer. He says:—

“Rees Thomas took the Vicar's MSS. to Cowbridge when he removed to that place for greater convenience in printing Walters's *Welsh Dictionary*, and upon the decease of Rees Thomas, they fell with other papers into the possession of Mr. Walters, and lay unheeded at Mr. Walters's house for many years, until both he and his son were dead. In 1833 the landlord of the house carted off the whole mass of papers that had from neglect become much decayed, and threw them into a ditch, where they lay rotting unheeded by any except children, who accelerated their decay by searching amongst them for some stray silver coin. And this wholesale destruction of what would have been welcomed with joy by thousands took place only a few months before the publisher of this edition (1841) obtained intelligence of the MSS. having been in the late Mr. Walters's possession, and the result of a journey he took to Cowbridge in search of these literary treasures was the knowledge of their having been so recently and so shamefully destroyed.”

Rhys Thomas's good intentions led to the irretrievable loss of the Vicar's MSS., and deprived Welsh literature of much of the work of one of the most famous authors the Principality has produced.

The few MSS. containing the Vicar's writing which survived to the present century, have nearly all been lost, as will be shown when dealing with Rees's edition of 1841.

The scene again shifts to Carmarthen, where in 1776 John Ross printed an edition, to which he attached the preface of Stephen Hughes, first published in 1672. But he did not rely upon Stephen Hughes for his text, preferring to include the doubtful poems of the Shrewsbury editions. He introduced at the end of the volume fourteen poems from the selection of twenty-six made by Griffith Jones, of Llanddowror, first printed in 1758 (list, No. 42).

The connection of John Ross with the printing of Welsh books is well known, though there is no reliable account of him in print. A history of the Welsh Press

and Welsh Printers is much wanted, but the time has not yet come when it can be done satisfactorily.

Two other Carmarthen printers followed Ross in the printing of the book. John Evans in 1798 (Crown 8vo.) and 1807 (Demy 8vo.), the latter with new titlepage being re-issued in 1808. While John Daniel issued an edition in 1807 (foolscap 8vo.).

These editions are fully described in the Appendix, and do not call for any further description; but it may be noted that Evans in 1807 and 1808 begins the title in English, the only instances of this being done. The selections, as printed by Ross, were not inserted by Evans in 1798, but occur in his subsequent issues and also in that of John Daniel.

John Evans followed the text of Rhys Thomas in 1798, but reverted to Ross and the Shrewsbury text for his issue of 1807. John Daniel followed Ross and the Shrewsbury editors.

With 1808 ends the series of issues which began in 1713. For nearly one hundred years the book had been constantly reprinted. Then follows an interval of over thirty years, during which time only translations appeared.

The next move was made by William Rees of Llandovery, the printer of the *Mabinogion*, and of the volumes issued by the Welsh MSS. Society. Latterly, the work of the Rees's as Editors has been called in question to some extent, but there can be no question as to William Rees's ability as a printer or as to his laudable efforts to serve the cause of Welsh literature. And if the scholars of to-day are inclined to criticise the work of fifty years ago, let it be done without harshness, remembering that many opportunities now exist which then were unthought of, and, that in spite of these opportunities, inaccuracies are not unknown to-day in Welsh literature.

The Editors of the 1841 Llandovery edition of *Canwyll y Cymry* went to great trouble to collect information before bringing out the work. A volume now lies before me containing copies of documents, notes, correspondence, biographical data, and other materials relating to the Vicar and his book. It contains all or nearly all the collections on the subject made by Professor Rice Rees and his brother William Rees.

It is worth mentioning that the intention to publish was announced, and the collection of materials commenced, in 1830, eleven years before the book appeared. The first efforts were directed to the recovery of the MSS. removed from Llandovery by Rhys Thomas. Mr. Rees's account of this has already been quoted. Having failed to recover the Vicar's MSS. it was necessary to fall back upon the text of the book as printed by Rhys Thomas.

In the search for information Mr. Rees found a letter to Dr. Oliver Lloyd, "the original of which, in the Vicar's handwriting, is still in being." Later, in 1858, it is stated that the letter was in the library of Mr. Rees at Tonn, Llandovery, and this note is repeated in 1867. The present whereabouts of this letter is unknown. The original is not amongst the Vicar Prichard papers found in the Library at Tonn, to which reference has been made above.

Mr. Rees also found a letter from the Vicar's son, Samuel Prichard, and on the back of it part of a poem in the handwriting of the Vicar. This was, in 1833, the property of the Rev. John Montgomery Traherne, of Coedriglan, near Cardiff. I have inquired, and find that this has gone astray. The present owner of Coedriglan tells me that none of the papers of the Rev. J. M. Traherne are there now, and that he has been unable to trace them.

I mention these two instances because they illustrate how easily valuable documents in private hands are lost

sight of, and too often perish. It is possible that both these letters survive, but I am not hopeful.

The 1841 Llandovery edition contains a valuable introduction, giving an account of the Author, and it is illustrated by a picture of the Vicar's house, now improved beyond recognition. At the end of the introduction is printed a sermon by the Vicar, which is stated to be the only one that Rhys Thomas printed from the MSS. found by him. I cannot find out in what form Rhys Thomas printed it. Mr. Rees says in his notes that it was printed in a magazine published by Rhys Thomas. It was reprinted as a twelve-page tract at Trefecca in 1802.

The name of Professor Rice Rees appears on the title-page as the Editor of this edition, but he died while the work was in progress. The introduction was written by his brother, William Rees, the publisher.

The Llandovery edition appears to have been issued in parts, but I have only seen one number, the first, issued in 1839. It appeared as a volume in 1841 and was re-issued in a cheaper form in 1858, and in 1867, and again about 1887; the last being from the press of Messrs. Hughes & Son, of Wrexham.

TRANSLATIONS OF "CANWYLL Y CYMRY."

The first translation into English of the Vicar's work has generally been ascribed to the Rev. William Evans, Vicar of Llawhaden, whose version was first published in 1771. The Rev. Rees Jenkin Jones, of Aberdare, however, recently called my attention to some translations from *Canwyll y Cymry* in the Moravian Hymn Book issued in 1754, under the title *A Collection of Hymns of the Children of God in all ages*. Inquiries revealed a probable solution of this interesting appearance of the Vicar's work. The Rev. John Gambold, born at Pun-

cheston, Pembrokeshire, 1711, a son of Wm. Gambold, the Grammarian, was a prominent Minister with the Moravians and became one of their Bishops. He is known to have been largely responsible for the Hymn Book of 1754, and to have contributed to it original hymns and translations.

Moreover, the writer of the account of John Gambold in the *Dictionary of National Biography* states, "he is said to have translated Rees Prichard's 'Divine Poems' from Welsh into English."

Here we have the clue which explains the appearance of Vicar Prichard in the Moravian Hymn-book. The date of the first printed translations of the Vicar's poems is seventeen years earlier than has been generally accepted.

The Rev. Wm. Evans, whose translation was published in 1771 by John Ross, of Carmarthen, was Vicar of Llawhaden. Rhys Prichard, as Chancellor of St. David's, was Prebendary of Llawhaden. Evans's translation appeared in the same year as Rhys Thomas's amended text, but he has not translated the doubtful poems; he probably used Stephen Hughes' edition of 1681.

Evans's translation was re-issued in 1785 (London) and in 1815 (Merthyr Tydfil).

The third translator, John Bulmer, of Haverfordwest, translated selections of the Vicar's works and published them under the title, *Beauties of the Vicar of Llandoverly, or Light from the Welshman's Candle*. There were two issues, 1821 and 1830, each with a long introduction and notes.

SELECTIONS.

The task of making selections from the *Canwyll y Cymry* was first undertaken by Griffith Jones, of Llanddowror, who issued in 1749 a small volume called *Pigion*

Prydyddiaeth Pen-Fardd y Cymry, etc. He gives his reasons for making the selections in the following terms:—

“Owing to the book of Mr. Prichard being too costly for the poor people to buy it, and too large for those who have it to carry with them in their pockets to amuse them in an edifying manner when at work, and that some of these songs were rather long to be learnt by heart, and that the same meaning is found sometimes in several stanzas, I have taken some pains to collect the best poems from the sweetest bunches of grapes found [in the Vicar’s book].”

He goes on to state that the book is intended for the scholars in the Welsh Schools, and that the collection is published at a low price to induce charitable people to present copies to the poor and to children, “on the condition that those who get them shall learn by heart such stanzas as the donor shall select.”

A few years later, in 1758, Griffith Jones brought out another small volume containing selections from the Vicar’s poems, but quite different from that issued in 1749. The selections of 1749 were obviously from printed sources, but those of 1758 were made from the MS. papers of the Vicar, to which Griffith Jones had access, though we are not told in whose possession they were when he used them. He prints in the later volume forty-six poems, not one of which had been printed before, but Rhys Thomas subsequently included one of them, “Crist sydd oll yn oll,” in his editions, and the whole of them are included in the Llandovery edition of 1841, being printed at the end of the volume, except “Crist sydd oll yn oll,” which Professor Rees inserted as a third part to two others bearing the same title, as Rhys Thomas had done. The first issue of this volume was printed in

London by John Oliver, who was Griffith Jones' regular printer. It was re-issued in 1766 by J. Eddowes, of Shrewsbury. It is worth noting that Rhys Thomas makes no mention of this selection; he may not have been aware of it.

A booklet of 16 pages appeared at the beginning of the present century, from the press of Thomas Williams, Dolgelly. I have suggested 1802 as the date, but it is a mere guess.

It contains two poems, "Cofiwch Angau" (Remember Death) and "Cynghor i ddarlain a gwrandu Gair Duw," (An advice to hear and read God's word), in Welsh and English, and was intended for children, to ground them in the principles of the Christian religion. The translation is not that of William Evans, but there is no hint as to the translator.

Two other volumes of selections are recorded. The one, a birthday book, was brought out about 1882, by the Religious Tract Society. The selections were made and the book arranged by "S. C. W. E." but I have failed to find the real name of the editor. The last volume of selections was brought out in 1888 under the editorship of the Rev. Thomas Levi, of Aberystwyth, from the press of Mr. William Jones, of Newport, Monmouthshire.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Sermon by Rhys Prichard, printed by Rhys Thomas and afterwards at Trevecca, has already been mentioned, and is fully described in the appendix.

With regard to the biography of the Vicar, it is extraordinary how little has been written apart from the biographical sketch prefixed to so many editions of his works, and the fuller account given in the Llandovery edition of 1841.

A short sketch was published in 1883 by the Religious Tract Society, written by the Rev. Thomas Levi. It was included in a small volume *Cedyrn Cymru*, and also issued separately.

Brief biographies are also given in the following works:—

Wood's *Athenae Oxoniensis*.

Williams's *Eminent Welshmen*.

Foulkes's *Enwogion Cymru*.

Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*.

Dictionary of National Biography.

Encyclopædia Cambrensis.

Enwogion y Ffydd.

Owen Jones's *Cymru*.

Hughes's *Welsh Reformers*.

The writer for Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology* has made a sad muddle of the Vicar's name, for he calls him "Vicard Prichard, M.A., a younger brother of Rhys Prichard"!

The following periodicals contain essays on the Vicar:—

Trysorfa Ysprydol, December, 1801. "Hanes y Parchedig Rhys Prichard" [by Thomas Charles].

Seren Gomer, December, 1825. "Hanes y Parchedig Rees Prichard," by S. Samoth [*i.e.*, S. Thomas].

Y Gwladgarwr, May, 1840. "Cofiant y Parch. Rhys Prichard."

Y Traethodydd, April, 1846. "Oriau Gyda hen Ficer Llanymddyfri" [by Roger Edwards, of Mold].

Yr Adolygydd, March, 1851. "Stephen Hughes a'i Amserau" [? by "Ieuan Gwynedd," Evan Jones].

Tarian y Gweithiwr, about 1877. "Enwogion Sir Gaer-fyrddin," by "Dafydd Morganwg", D. W. Jones.

Y Traethodydd, March, 1893. "Y Ficer Pritchard (*sic*), Beibl 1630, a 'Charwr y Cymry'," by Ivor James.

Cymru, October, 1898. "Awdwr Canwyll y Cymry," by W. Tibbott.

I have not attempted to collate the references to the Vicar in such books as Rees' *History of Nonconformity in Wales*. Nearly all deal with him more or less. It is worth noting, however, that the Vicar is one of the characters in the well-known Welsh romance, *Twm Shon Catti*.

Such is the story of what has been in the past, next to the Bible, the most popular book in Wales. It is possible that the points which are left open may yet be decided, especially as to the lost first part, ascribed to 1646, and the sermon published by Rhys Thomas and reprinted at Trevecca. I think, too, that the songs may have been issued as broadsides, or chap books, in the 17th century, possibly during the Vicar's lifetime, and there may yet turn up some publication which has not so far come to my notice.

But, for the present, I have told all that is known to me and to the ardent and generous book-lovers, who have placed their copies and their knowledge so unreservedly at my disposal. I offer a word of cordial thanks to them for their courtesy during the three years or more that the facts for this paper have taken to collect. One learned book-lover, the Rev. Owen Jones, B.A., has gone to his rest. This study of the old Vicar's book owes much to him and to his accurate knowledge of Welsh bibliography. He wrote me a brief note only a few days before his death.

The great Vicar lies in a nameless grave. His poems, as I have tried to show in this essay, have kept their charm for the Welsh people for a period of over two hundred and fifty years.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

No. 1.—1617.

y | Catechism | nev athrawi | aeth Grist-ianogaul,
rhwn | y mae pob plentyn y ddys | cu, cyn iddo ef gael y
vedydd | Episcob: neu y dderbyn | yr Cummûn ben- |
digidig. | Imprinted at London. M.DC. xvii.

Collation.

Catechism=Title Page + 1 to 12.

Gras cyn cinnaw, &c.=4 pp.

Cyngor Episcob y bob enaid oddi vewn y Episcobeth, 14 pp.

Whole book is 41 pp.

The last portion, *i.e.*, Cyngor Episcob, is a song by Vicar P. (though his name is not given), and begins "Fanwyl blentyn dere nes."

No. 2.—1646. Part I.

Recorded in Rowlands's "Cambrian Bibliography,"
as two parts. Otherwise unknown.

No. 3.—1659, 8vo. Part II.

Rhan o waith | Mr Rees Prichard | Gynt Ficar
Llanddyfri yn Shir Gaer-fyr- | ddyn, a osodwyd allan
er Daioni'r | Cymru. | Some part of the works | of | Mr
Rees Prichard | Sometimes Vicker of Llandyfri in the
County | of Carmarthen | Joan 5. 35. Psal. 102. 18. |
Printiedig yn Llundain | ag a werthir gan Thomas
Brewster, tan | lun y tri Bibl yn | ymmyl Pauls. 1659.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Blank.

„ A 2, Title.

„ A 3-6 verso, “Y Rhag-ymadrodd at y Cymru,” signed “S. H.,” dated “y pedwarydd dydd o fis Mawrth 1657.”

„ A 7, List of Welsh Books sold by T. Brewster.

„ A 7 verso, and A 8 recto, “Y Llythyr,” etc.

P. 1, Sig. B 1, “O cais gwr.” The poems end p. 157, the last piece is “Gwell Duw na dim,” beginning “Os tad os mam, os mab os ferch.”

Pp. 158-9, Index of Contents.

Pp. 160 (last), “Att y Darlleydd,” signed “H. M.”

NOTE.—The address to the reader says this is the *third* time the book has been printed.

No. 4.—1659 or later, 8vo. Part II.

Same as No. 3. No complete copy known. The address to the reader on p. 160 says this is the *fourth* time the book has been printed.

No. 5.—1670, Crown 8vo. Part III.

Y Drydedd Ran o waith Mr. Rees Prichard, gynt Ficar Llanymddyfri yn Sir Gaerfyrddin, gŷda Llythyr at Plwyfion Llanddyfri, Llanfair ar Brin, a Llanedi yn sir Gaerfyrddin, a Llythyr at y Cymru a ddarllenant y Llyfr hwn, ynghyd ag Ymholiad beunyddiol o waith Usher, a'r lleill o waith S. Bernard. Llundain.

[Title copied from Rowlands's “Llyfryddiaeth.”]

Collation.

Copy begins Sig. A 2, “At Plwyfion Llanddyfri, Llan-fair ar Brin a Llanedi yn Shir Gaer-fyrddyn,” signed “S. H.” 8½ pp.

Sig. a 2, “Llythyr at y Cymru a ddarllenant y llyfr hwn,” signed “S. H.” 5½ pp.

P. 1 (Sig. B.), Text begins with “Genedigaeth, bywyd,” etc.

No. 6.—1672, Crown 8vo.

Gwaith | Mr. Rees Prichard, | Gynt Ficer Llanddyfri
yn Shir Gaer- | fyrddyn : A brintwyd or blaen mewn | tri

Llyfr, wedi gyssylltu oll a chwbl (er | nid yn yr vn drefn a
 chynt) ynghyd â | Phedwaredd Ran, y nawr gynta yn |
 brintiedig. | The Works of Mr. Rees Prichard, sometimes
 Vi- | car of Llandovery in Carmarthenshire: Printed |
 before in three Books, but now printed together | as one
 Book, though not in the same order as | formerly (for a
 reason given in the Preface); | with an Addition in many
 things out of Manu- | scripts, not seen before by the
 Publisher; besides | a fourth Part now the first time
 imprinted. | To be sold in Wales for 3s. 6d. bound. | Deut.
 31. 19 21. Scrifennwch yr awron i chwi y gân hon; |
 dysc hi hefyd i feibion Israel; a gosod hi yn eu genau |
 hwynt, fel y byddo y gân hon yn dyst i mi yn erbyn
 meibion | Israel: canys nid anghofir hi o enau ei hâd ef. |
 Calvin in Isai. 5. 1. Res insignes & præclaræ Carmine
 de- | scribi solebant, Ut omnium ore circumferentur, &
 perpe- | tuum extaret earum monumentum: Sic enim
 celebrior fit | doctrina, quam si simplicius traderetur. |
 London, | Printed by J. Darby, viz. one third Part, and
 the fourth | (now first printed) for Samuel Gelibrand at
 the Golden | Ball in St. Pauls Church-yard, 1672.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Title. Verso Blank.

„ A 2, “Ir parchedig Dr. William Thomas,” etc., signed “Stephen
 Hughes.” 25 pp.

“Y Rhagymadrodd at y Darllenydd,” signed “Stephen
 Hughes.” 13 pp.

“Tabl” [of contents]. 4 pp.

“At y Darllenwr,” signed “S. H.,” and “Llythyr yr Awdwr at
 ryw Eglwyswr,” etc. 4 pp.

Sig. B., Text. Pp. 1—592 + 2 + 25 + 13 + 4 + 4 = 640.

NOTE.—Pp. 273—287 contain an address, “At y Darllenydd,” signed
 “S. H.”

Pp. 491—500 contain “Ymholiad beunyddiol o waith . .
 Jaco Usher,” etc.

Pp. 500—509 contain “Diharebion cymraeg . . . allan o Ddictionary Doctor Davies.”

P. 511 is a separate title to the 4th part, thus :—Y Pedwarydd Ran | O Waith | Mr. Rees Prichard, | Gynt Ficer Llanddyfri yn Shir | Gaerfyrddyn : | Y nawr gynta yn Brintiedig. | A Fourth Part of the Works of Mr. Rees | Prichard, formerly Vicar of Landoverly | in the County of Carmarthen, now the | first time imprinted. | Printiedig yn Llundain gan J. D. dros | Samuel Gellibrand tan Lûn y Bêl aur | ym monwent Powls, 1672.

P. 592 contains “Tabl y Bedwarydd Ran.”

No. 7.—1681, Crown 8vo.

Canwyll y Cymru : sef, gwaith Mr. Rees Prichard, gynt, Ficer Llanddyfri. A brintwyd o'r blaen yn bedair rhan, wedi ei cysylltu oll ynghyd yn vn Llyfr. The Divine Poems of Mr. Rees Prichard, sometimes Vicar of Landoverly, in Carmarthen Shire. Whereunto is added the Strange but True Narrative of the Chief Things, spoken and acted, by an unclean Spirit at Mascon. Translated out of French into English by Dr. Peter Du Moulin upon the desire of the Hon. Robert Boyle, Esquire, and now done into Welsh, by S. Hughes, of Swansea. London, Printed by Tho. Dawkes, his Majestes British Printer. Sold by Enoch Prosser, at the Rose and Crown in Sweeting Rents, at the East End of the Royal Exchange, 1681. The Price, bound, 2s. 6d.

Collation.

Sig. A, Title. Verso Blank.

Preface. 4 pp.

“Llythyr yr Awdwr,” etc. 1 p.

“Llythyr Arall,” etc. 1 p.

Sig. B, Text begins with “Cynghor i wrando,” etc. Pp. 1-456.

Pp. 10-16, “Hil Frutus.”

Pp. 457-468, “Dav Gymro yn taring,” etc.

Separate Title, thus :—Adroddiad Cywir, | o'r | Pethau pennaf, ar a wnaeth, ac a ddwedodd | Yspryd Aflan, | yn | Mascon yn

Burgundy ; | Yn Nhŷ un | Mr. Francis Pereaud, | Gweinidog
Eglwys y Protestaniaid | yn y Dref honno : | A Ossodwyd
allan yn Frangaeg gantho ef ei hun ; a chwedi hynny | yn
Saesoneg, gan un ac oedd a gwybodaeth neilltuol ynghylch |
y Stori hon : | Ac yn awr wedi ei gyfieithu yn Gymraeg, gan
S.H. o | Abertawe. | Ai Brintio yn Llundain gan T.S. yn y
flwyddyn 1681. |

Collation of "Adroddiad Cywir."

P. 1, Title.

Pp. 2-3, "I'm Parchedig . . . Peter Du Moulin," signed
"Robert Boyle."

Pp. 4-7, "I'r Anrhydeddus . . . Robert Boyle," signed
"Peter Du Moulin."

Pp. 8-15, "Llythyr at y Darllenwyr," signed "Stephen
Hughes."

P. 16, Blank.

Pp. 17-44, "Adroddiad Cywir," etc.

Pp. 45-48, "Angwhanegiad Cyfieithydd y Llyfr o'r iaith
ffrangeg ir Saesneg."

Pp. 48-49, "Canmoliaeth yr Awdwr," etc.

Pp. 50-52, "Llythyr at y Darllenwr," signed "Stephen
Hughes, y 6 Dydd o Fis Rhagfyr 1680."

No. 8.—1696, Crown 8vo.

Canwyll y Cymru : | sef, | Gwaith | Mr. Rees Prichard, |
gynt | Ficcwr Llanddyfri, | A brintwyd or blaen yn bedair
rhan, wedi ei cyssylltu | oll ynghyd yn un Llyfr. | The
Divine Poems | of | Mr. Rees Prichard, | Sometimes Vicar
of Lan^roverey in Carmarthenshire. | London, | Printed by
J. Moxon and B. Beardwell for D. Jones, | in the Year,
MDCXCVI.

Collation.

Sig. B 1, Title. Verso Blank.

Sig. B 2, "Llythyr yr Awdwr at ryw Arglwydd," etc. 1 p.

" " Verso, "Llythyr arall at y Darllenwr," etc. 1 p.

Sig. B 3, Text begins with "Cynghor i wrando," etc. Pp. 1-10.

Pp. 10-16, "Hil Frutus."

Pp. 16-20, "Truenus gyfwr dyn," etc.

Pp. 83-88, "Cynghorau Duwiol. F'anwyl blentyn, dere nes."

P. 222, "Gweddï cyn derbyn y cymmun. Arglwydd grasol, rhwn y roddaist."

P. 454 [*sic* 466], "Finis."

Sig. Hh 4, "Dangosiad ym-ha ddalen y caer pôb cân," etc. pp.

Pp. 460 [*sic* 472-3], "Sail y Grefydd Gristianogol," etc.

Pp. 461-3 [*sic* 473-5], "A.B.C.," etc.

Last page (476), Blank.

Total Pp., 2 + 476 = 478.

NOTE.—Pp. 467-454 [*sic* 457-466] contain "Y Bummed Ran o waith Ficcâr Llan-ymddyfry ynglych Caersalem Newydd."

P. 460 is followed by p. "449," which is a repetition, word for word, of 460; the verso of "449," sig. Hh, then follows correctly.

No. 9.—1713, 12mo.

Canwyll y Cymru : | sef, | Gwaith | Mr. Rees Prichard, |
gynt Ficcâr Llanddyfri. | A brintwyd or blaen yn
bedair rhan, wedi ei | cyssylltu oll ynghyd yn un Llyfr. |
The Divine Poems | of | Mr. Rees Prichard, | Sometimes
Vicar of Landoverey in Carmarthenshire. | Y Pedwerydd
Argraphiad. | Argraphwyd yn y Mwythig ac ar werth yno
Gan | Thomas Durston, am 2s. y Llyfr wedi en Beindio.

NOTE.—Only known from titlepage bound in a copy of No. 10,
with which this is probably identical, except as to title.

No. 10.—1714, 12mo.

Canwyll y Cymru ; | sef, | Gwaith | Mr. Rees Prichard, |
gynt Ficcâr Llanddyfri. | A brintwyd or blaen yn bum
rhan, wedi ei | cyssylltu oll ynghyd yn un Llyfr. | The
Divine Poems | of | Mr. Rees Prichard, | Sometimes Vicar
of Landoverey in Carmarthenshire. | Y Pummed Argraphiad
gydac ymchwanegiad helaeth. | Argraphwyd yn y Mwythig
ac ar werth yno Gan | Thomas Durston yn y Flwyddyn
1714.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Title. Verso Blank.

Sig. A 2, "I'r Parchedig a'r Anrhydeddus John Vaughan," etc.,
signed "John Rhydderch." 2 pp.

Sig. A 3, "Y Rhag-Ymadrodd," signed "John Rhydderch." 1½ pp.

- Sig. A 3, verso, "An Account of the Reverend Mr. Rees Prichard," etc., ends Sig. A 4, verso.
- Sig. B. 1, Titlepage of fourth edition (1713), verso blank.
- Sig. B. 2, "Llythyr yr Awdwr," etc. 1 p.
- „ Verso, "Llythyr arall," etc. 1 p.
- Sig. B 3, Text begins with "Cyngor i wrando," pp. 1-460.
- Pp. 10-16, "Hil Frutus."
- Pp. 16-20, "Truenus gyfiwr dyn," etc.
- P. 276, Date in stanza, 1713.
- P. 460, "Diwedd."
- Sig. Hh, "Danghosiad ym-ha ddalen y ceir pob cân," etc. 4½ pp.
- „ Hh 3, "Sail y Grefydd Gristianogol," etc. 1½ pp.
- „ Hh 4, "A.B.C." etc. 2 pp.
- „ A 1, "Dwyfolder," etc. 21½ pp.
- „ B 3, verso, Advertisements. 2½ pp.

NOTE.—"Dwyfolder Gymmunol" has a separate title thus:—
 Dwyfolder Gymmunol | neu | Ddefosiwnau | Sacrament-
 aidd | Sef | Amryw o weddiau am wir | ymbaratoad i'r
 Cym- | mun Sanctaidd ac eraill | ar ei dderbyniad yng- |
 hyd a Diolchgarwch | Gymhesur i'w harferu ar | ei ol. |
 A Gyfeithwyd o'r Saesnaeg i'r Gymraeg gan | John
 Rhydderch er lleshâd y Cymru. | Argraphwyd yn y
 Mwythig gan Tho. Durston.

No. 11.—[Circa 1715], 12mo.

Canwyll y Cymru, | sef | Gwaith | Mr. Rees Prichard, |
 gynt Ficcwr Llanddyfri. | A brintwydd or blaen yn bum
 rhan, wedi ei cyssylltu oll ynghyd | yn un Llyfr. | The
 Divine Poems | of | Mr. Rees Prichard, | Sometimes Vicar
 of Llandovery in Carmarthenshire. | Y Chweched Argraph-
 iad gyda ymchwanegiad helaeth. | Argraphwyd yn y
 Mwythig gan Thomas Durston, lle y gellir chael | Printio
 pob math ar Copiau am bris gweddaidd, a chael | ar werth
 amryw Llyfrau Cymraeg a Saesnaeg.

Collation.

- Sig. A 1, Title. Verso Blank.
- Sig. A 2, "I'r Parchedig . . . John Vaughan," etc., signed "T. D."
 2 pp.
- "Y Rhag-Ymadrodd," signed "T. D." 1½ pp.
- "An Account of . . . Rees Prichard," etc. 2½ pp.

- Sig. B, "Llythyr yr Awdwr," etc. 1 p.
 Verso, "Llythyr arall," etc. 1 p.
 Sig. B 3, Text begins with "Cyngor i wrando," etc. Pp. 1-460.
 Pp. 10-16, "Hil Brutus."
 P. 276, Date in stanza, 1713.
 Sig. Hh, Pp. 461-465, "Danghosiad ym-ha ddalen y ceir pob cân," etc.
 Pp. 465-466, "Sail y Grefydd Gristianogol," etc.
 Sig. Hh 4, Pp. 467-468, "A. B. C."
 "Dwyfolder Gymmunol." 21½ pp.
 "Llyfrau Cymraeg . . . ar werth," etc. 1½ pp.
 "Advertisements." 1 p.
 Total pp., 10+460+8+21½+1½+1=502.

No. 12.—[Circa 1720], 12mo.

Canwyll y Cymru ; | sef | Gwaith | Mr. Rees Prichard, |
 gynt Ficer Llanddyfri. | A brintwydd or blaen yn bum
 rhan, wedi ei | cyssylltu oll ynghyd yn un Llyfr. | The
 Divine Poems | of | Mr. Rees Prichard, | Sometimes Vicar
 of Llandovery in Carmarthenshire. | Y Chweched Argraph-
 iad gyda ymchwanegiad helaeth. | Argraphwyd yn y
 Mwythig gan Thomas Durston, lle y | gellir chael Printio
 pob math ar Copiau am bris | gweddaidd, a chael ar werth
 amryw Llyfrau Cym- | raeg a Saesnaeg.

Collation.

- Sig. A 1, Title. Verso Blank.
 Sig. A 2, "Y Rhag-Ymadrodd," signed, "T. D." 1½ pp.
 „ "An Account of the Reverend Mr. Rees Prichard," etc.
 2½ pp.
 Sig. A 4, "Llythyr yr Awdwr." 1 p.
 „ „ Verso, "Llythyr arall," etc. 1 p.
 Sig. A 5, Text begins with "Cyngor i wrando," etc. Pp. 1-460.
 Pp. 10-16, "Hil Brutus."
 P. 276, Date in stanza, 1713.
 Pp. 461-465, "danghosiad," etc.
 Pp. 465-466, "Sail y grefydd Gristianogol," etc.
 P. 467, "A. B. C."
 P. 468, "Dwyfolder Gymmunol," etc.

P. 469. 2nd page of "A. B. C." [wrongly imposed].
 P. 470-493, "Dwyfoder Gymmunol," etc. [continued].
 "Llyfrau Cymraeg heblaw'r' Llyfr hwnyn," etc. 2 pp.
 Last page, Blank.

Total pp., 8 + 460 + 36 = 504.

No. 13.—1721, Crown 8vo.

Canwyll y Cymru, | sef, | Gwaith | Mr. Rees Prichard, |
 gynt Ficcer Llanddyfri, | Yn bum Rhan. | The Divine |
 Poems | of | Mr. Rees Prichard, | Sometimes Vicar of
 Landoverly in Carmarthenshire. | Argraphwyd yn y Mwy-
 thig gan John Rogers. | MDCCXXI.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Title. Verso Blank.

Sig. A 2, "To the Right Reverend Father in God, Adam," signed
 "J. Rogers." 4 pp.

"Llythyr yr Awdwr," etc. 1 p.

Verso, "Llythyr arall," etc. 1 p.

Sig. B, Text begins with "Cyngor i wrando," etc. Pp. 1-481 [*sic* 471].

P. 276, Date in stanza, 1620.

Pp. 482-486 (not paged) [*sic* 472-476]. "Dangosiad," etc.

Pp. 487-484 [*sic* 477-478], "A. B. C."

Appended to one copy is a catechism, with a separate title, thus:—

A Sacrament	Sacrament
Catechism,	Gatchism
or, a	neu
Catechism	Gatchism
Preparatory to the receiving	i barattoi rhai i dderbŷn
of the Sacrament of the	Sacrament
Lord's Supper, etc.	Swpper yr Arglwydd, etc.

For the Use of the Parish of Chirk, whose inhabitants are partly
 Welsh and partly English. | By R. R., A. M. and Vicar of the
 said Parish of Chirk. | Printed for the Author 1720. | 40 pp.
 Imperfect.

No. 14.—1724, Crown 8vo.

Canwyll y Cymru | sef, | Gwaith | Mr. Rees Prichard, |
 gynt Ficcer Llanddyfri, | Yn bum Rhan. | The Divine |

Poems | of | Mr. Rees Prichard, | Sometimes Vicar of
Llandovery in Carmarthenshire. | Argraphwyd yn y Mwy-
thig gan John Roger. | MDCCLXXIV.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Title. Verso Blank.

Sig. A 2, "Llythyr yr Awdwr," etc.

Verso, "Llythyr arall," etc.

Sig. A 3, Text begins with "Cyngor i wrando," etc. Pp. 5-484.

Pp. 15-21, "Hil Frutus."

P. 290, Date in stanza, 1620.

P. 485, Blank.

Pp. 486-490 (not paged), "Dangosiad," etc. Woodcut at end.

No. 15.—[1725], 12mo.

Canwyll y Cymru : | sef, | Gwaith | Mr. Rees Prichard, |
gynt Ficer Llanddyfri, | Wedi ei Argraphu ynghyd yn
Chwe Rhann, yn fwy | cyflawnach a helaethach nag un
Argraphiad a fu allan | erioed o'r blaen, a chwedi ei fanwl
chwilio ai ddiwy- | gio'n ofalus o amryw feiau a chamgym-
meriadau anafus | gan John Rhydderch. | The Divine
Poems | of | Mr. Rees Prichard, | Sometime Vicar of Llan-
dovery in Carmarthenshire. | Y Seithfed Argraphiad gyda
ymchwanegiad helaeth. | Argraphwyd yn y Mwythig gan
Thomas Durston, lle y | gellir cael Printio pob math ar
Gopiau am bris | gweddaidd, a chael ar werth amryw
Lyfrau Cym- | raeg a Saesnaeg.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Title. Verso Blank.

Sig. A 2, "Y Rhag-Ymmadrodd." 1½ pp.

"Hanes Rhys Prichard," etc. 2½ pp.

Sig. A. 4, "Llythyr yr Awdwr," etc. 1 p.

Verso, "Llythyr arall," etc. 1 p.

Sig. A 5, Text begins with "Cyngor i wrando," etc. Pp. 1-488.

Pp. 10-16, "Hil Brutus."

P. 276, Date in stanza, 1725.

Pp. 488-500, "Dau Gymro," etc.

Pp. 501-504 (not paged), "Danghosiad," etc.

P. 504, "Rhybudd."

Sig. Kk, Pp. 505-510 (not paged), "Y Caniadau canlynol," etc.

Total pp., 8 + 500 + 4 + 5 = 518.

No. 16.—[Circa 1730], Crown 8vo.

Canwyll y Cymru; | sef | Gwaith | Mr. Rees Prichard, |
 gynt Ficcer Llanddyfri. | Wedi ei Argraphu ynghyd yn
 Chwe Rhann, yn | llofnach a helaethach nag un Argraph-
 iad a fu | allan erioed o'r blaen, a chwedi ei fanwl chwilio, |
 ai ddiwygio yn ofalus o amryw Feiau a Cham- | gymmeria-
 dau anafus, gan J.H. | The Divine Poems | of | Mr. Rees
 Prichard, | Sometime Vicar of Llandovery in Carmarthen-
 shire. | Yr Wythfed Argraphiad gydag ywchwanegiad
 helaeth | Argraphwyd yny Mwythig gan Thomas Durston, |
 lle y gellir cael Brintio pob math ar Gopiau am | bris
 gweddaidd, a chael ar werth amryw Lyfrau | Cymraeg a
 Saesnaeg.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Title. Verso Blank.

Sig. A 2, "Y Rhag-Ymadrodd," signed "T. D." 1½ pp.

"Hanes . . Rhys Prichard," etc. 2½ pp., with woodcut as tail-piece.

Sig. A 4, "Llythyr yr Awdwr." 1 p.

Verso, "Llythyr arall," etc. 1 p.

Sig. A 5, Text begins with "Cyngor i wrando," etc. Pp. 1-489.

P. 275, Date in stanza, 1725.

Pp. 490-499, "Dau Gymro," etc.

Pp. 500-503 (not paged), "Danghosiad," etc.

P. 504 (not paged), "Y Llyfrau sy'n canlyn," etc.

Total pp., 8 + 504 = 512.

No. 17.—[Circa 1735], Crown 8vo.

Canwyll y Cymru; | sef, | Gwaith | Mr. Rees Prichard, |
 gynt Ficcer Llanddyfri. | Wedi ei argraphu ynghyd yn
 Chwe Rhann, yn | llofnach a helaethach nag un Argraphiad
 a fu | allan erioed o'r blaen, a chwedi ei fanwl chwilio, | ai

ddiwygio yn ofalus o amryw Feiau a Cham- | gymmeriadau
anafus, gan J.H. | The Divine Poems | of | Mr. Rees
Prichard, | Sometime Vicar of Llandoverly in Carmarthen-
shire. | Yr Wythfed Argraphiad gydag ymchwanegiad
helaeth. | Argraphwyd yn y Mwythig gan Thomas
Durstun, | lle y gellir cael Printio pob math ar Gopiau am |
bris gweddaidd, a chael ar werth amryw Lyfrau | Cymraeg
a Saesnaeg.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Title. Verso Blank.

Sig. A 2, "Y Rhag-Ymadrodd," signed "T.D." 1½ pp.

"Hanes . . Rhys Prichard," etc. 2½ pp. with woodcut as tail-
piece.

Sig. A 4, "Llythyr yr Awdwr," etc. 1 p.

Verso, "Llythyr arall," etc. 1 p.

Sig. A 5, Text begins with "Cyngor i wrando," etc. Pp. 1-489.

P. 275, Date in stanza, 1725.

Pp. 490-499, "Dau Gymro," etc.

Pp. 500-503 (not paged), "Danghosiad," etc.

P. 504 (not paged), "Y Llyfrau sy'n canlyn," etc.

Total pp., 8 + 504 = 512.

No. 18.—[Circa 1745], 12mo.

Canwyll y Cymru ; | sef, | Gwaith | Mr. Rees Prichard, |
gynt Ficer Llanddyfri. | Wedi ei Argraphu ynghyd yn
Chwe Rhann, yn llofnach | a helaethach nag un Argraph-
iad a fu allan erioed o'r | blaen, a chwedi ei fanwl chwilio,
ai ddiwygio yn | ofalus o amryw Feiau a Chamgymmeriadau
anafus, | gan J.H. | The Divine Poems | of | Mr. Rees
Prichard, | Sometime Vicar of Llandoverly in Carmarthen-
shire. | Yr Nawfed Argraphiad gydag ymchwanegiad
helaeth. | Argraphwyd yn y Mwythig gan Thomas
Durstun, lle y | gellir cael Brintio pob math ar Gopiau am
bris gwedd- | aidd, a chael ar werth amryw Lyfrau Cymraeg
a | Saesneg.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Title. Verso Blank.

Sig. A 2, "Y Rhag-Ymadrodd," signed "T.D." 1½ pp.

"Hanes . . Rhys Prichard," etc. 2½ pp., with woodcut as tail-piece.

Sig. A 4, "Llythyr yr Awdwr," etc. 1 p.

Verso, "Llythyr arall," etc. 1 p.

Sig. A 5, Text begins with "Cyngor i wrando," etc. Pp. 1-489.

P. 275, Date in stanza, 1725.

Pp. 490-499 (not paged after 490), "Ddau Gymro," etc.

Pp. 500-503 (not paged), "Danghosiad," etc.

P. 504 (not paged). [List of books.]

Total pp., 8 + 504 = 512.

No. 19.—[Circa 1750], 12mo.

Canwyll y Cymru; | sef, | Gwaith | Mr. Rees Prichard, |
 gynt Ficcer Llanddyfri. | Wedi ei Argraphu ynghyd yn
 Chwe Rhann, yn llofnach | a helaethach nag un Argraphiad
 a fu allan erioed o'r | blaen, a chwedi ei fanwl chwilio, ai
 ddiwygio yn | ofalus o amryw Feiau a Chamgymeriadau
 anafus, | gan J.H. | The Divine Poems | of | Mr. Rees
 Prichard, | Sometime Vicar of Llandovery in Carmarthen-
 shire. | Yr Degfed Argraphiad gydag ymchwanegiad
 helaeth. | Argraphwyd yn y Mwythig gan Thomas
 Durston, lle y | gellir cael Brintio pob math ar Gopiau am
 bris gwedd- | aidd, a chael ar werth amryw Lyfrau yn
 Gymraeg a | Saesnaeg.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Title. Verso Blank.

Sig. A 2, "Y Rhag-Ymadrodd," signed "T.D." 1½ pp.

"Hanes y Parchedig Mr. Rhys Prichard," etc. 2½ pp.

Sig. A 4, "Llythyr yr Awdwr," etc. 1 p.

Verso, "Llythyr arall," etc. 1 p.

Sig. A 5, Text begins with "Cyngor i wrando," etc. Pp. 1-489.

P. 275, Date in stanza, 1725.

Pp. 490-500 (not paged), "Ddau Gymro," etc.

P. 500 (half page), "Y Llyfrau a Argraphwyd," etc.

Pp. 501-504 (not paged), "Danghosiad," etc.

Total pp., 8 + 489 + 15 = 512.

No. 20.—1752, 12mo.

Canwyll y Cymru ; | sef, | Gwaith | Mr. Rees Prichard, |
Gynt Ficer Llanddyfri, | Yn Chwech Rhan. | The Divine
Poems, | of Mr. Rees Prichard, | Late Vicar of Landoverly,
in Carmarthenshire. | Caerfyrddin : | Argraphwyd yn y
Flwyddyn, MDCCLII.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Title. Verso Blank.

Sig. A 2, "Dangosiad," etc. 5 pp.

Pp. 8-9, "A.B.C."

P. 10, Blank.

P. 11, "Llythyr yr Awdwr," etc.

P. 12, "Llythyr Arall," etc.

Sig. B, Text begins with "Cyngor i wrando," etc. Pp. 1-561 [*sic* 562].

P. 324, Date in stanza, 1620.

Total pp., 12+562=574.

No. 21.—[*Circa* 1755], Crown 8vo.

Canwyll y Cymru ; | sef, | Gwaith | Mr. Rees Prichard
gynt Ficer | Llanddyfri. | Wedi ei Argraphu ynghyd yn
Chwe Rhann, yn | llofnach a helaethach nag un Argraphiad
a fu | allan erioed o'r blaen, a chwedi ei fenwl chwilio, | ai
ddiwygio yn ofalus o amryw Feiau a cham- | gymmeriadau
anafus, gan J.H. | The | Divine Poems | of | Mr. Rees
Prichard, | Sometime Vicar of Landoverly in Carmarthen-
shire. | Yr Wythfed Argraphiad gydag ymchwanegiadau
helaeth. | Argraphwyd yn y Mwythlig gan Richard
Lathrop. Lle | y gellir, cael Brintio pob math ar Gopiau
am | bris gweddaidd, a chael ar werth amryw Lyfrau |
Cymraeg a Saesonaeg.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Title. Verso Blank.

Sig. A 2, "Y Rhag-Ymadrodd," signed "T.D." 1½ pp.

"Hanes . . Rhys Prichard," etc. 2¾ pp., with woodcut as tail-
piece.

- Sig. A 4, "Llythyr yr Awdwr," etc. 1 p.
Verso, "Llythyr arall," etc. 1 p.
Sig. A 5, "Text begins with "Cyngor i Wrando," etc. Pp. 1-494
[sic 492], with woodcut as tail-piece.
P. 275, Date in stanza, 1725.
Pp. 491 [sic 493]-503, "Dau Gymro," etc. Woodcut as tail-piece to
p. 503.
Pp. 504-508 (not paged), "Danghosiad," etc. Woodcut as tail-piece
to p. 508.

Total pp., 8 + 508 = 516.

No. 22.—1766, 12mo.

Canwyll y Cymru ; | sef, | Gwaith | Mr. Rees Prichard, |
Gynt Ficcer Llanddyfri. | Wedi ei Argraphu ynghyd yn
Chwe Rhan, a chwedi | ei fanwl chwilio, a'i ddiwygio yn
ofalus o amryw | Feiau a Chamgymeriadau anafus. | The
Divine Poems | of | Mr. Rees Prichard, | Sometime Vicar
of Llandovery in Carmarthenshire. | Y trydydd Argraphiad
a'r Ddeg, at ba un y chwanegir | y seithfed ran i'r sawl
a'i Dymuno. | Argraphwyd yn y Mwythig gan Stafford
Prys, | lle y gellir cael Brintio pob math ar Gopiau am
bris | gweddaidd, a chael ar werth amryw Lyfrau
Cymraeg | a Saesnaeg, 1766.

Collation.

- Sig. A 1, Title. Verso Blank.
Sig. A 2, "Y Rhag-Ymadrodd," signed "S.P." 1½ pp.
"Hanes . . . Rhys Prichard," etc. 2½ pp.
Sig. A 4, "Llythyr yr Awdwr," etc. 1 p.
Verso, "Llythyr arall," etc. 1 p.
Sig. B, Text begins with "Cyngor i wrando," etc. Pp. 1-454.
P. 251, Date in stanza, 1765.
Pp. 455-465 (not paged), "Ddau Gymro," etc.
Pp. 466-469 (not paged), "Danghosiad," etc.
P. 470 (not paged), "Y Lyfrau Cymraeg," etc.

Total pp., 8 + 470 = 478.

No. 23.—1770, Crown 8vo.

Y | Seren Foreu, | neu | Ganwyll y Cymry. | Gan Rhys
Pritchard A.M. gynt | Ficar Llanymddyfri. | At yr hwn
y | Chwanegwyd, | Ynghylch 351 | o | Benillion, | a |
gymerwyd allan | o | Scrifen-Law yr Awdwr ei hun | pa
rai | Nas Cyhoeddwyd yn un | o'r | Argraphiadau
Cyntaf. | A gyhoeddwyd, ac a Argraphwyd yn Llan-
ymddyfri | gan Rhys Tomas, (Pris 3s. 6d. bound.) |
MDCCLXX.

Collation.

Sig. a 1, Title. Verso Blank.

Sig. a 2, "Egwyddor i'r Anllythrennog," etc. 1 p.

Pp. 4-7 (not paged), "Yr Argrapydd at y Darllenydd."

P. 8 (not paged), "Fy Nghyd-Wladwyr," etc.

Sig. b, pp. i—ii, "Hanes . . . Rhys Pritchard," etc.

Sig. b, pp. iii—vi, "Cyngor i'r Llyfr," signed "Stephen Hughes."

P. vii, "Llythyr yr Awdwr," etc.

P. viii, "Llythyr arall," etc.

Sig. A, Text begins with "Annerchiad i'r Bruttaniaid," etc. Pp. 1-532.

P. 334, Date in stanza, 1620.

Pp. 533-536 (not paged), "Tabl i gael un rhyw Gân," etc.

Total pp., 16 + 536 = 552.

No. 24.—1770, Crown 8vo. [2nd issue].

Y | Seren Foreu, | neu | Ganwyll y Cymry. | Gan Rhys
Pritchard A.M. gynt | Ficar Llanymddyfri. | At yr hwn
y | Chwanegwyd, | Ynghylch 359 | o | Benillion, | a |
Gymerwyd allan | o | Scrifen-Law yr Awdwr ei hun, | pa
rai | Nas cyhoeddwyd yn un | o'r | Argraphiadau
Cyntaf. | A gyhoeddwyd, ac a Argraphwyd yn Llan-
ymddyfri | gan Rhys Tomas, (Pris 3s. 6d. bound.) |
MDCCLXX.

Collation.

Sig. a 1, Title. Verso Blank.

Sig. a 2, "Egwyddor i'r Anllythrennog," etc. 1 p.

Pp. 4-7 (not paged), "Yr Argrapydd at y Darllenydd."

P. 8 (not paged), "Fy Nghyd-wladwyr," etc.
 Sig. b, pp. i-ii, "Hanes . . . Rhys Pritchard," etc.
 Sig. b, iii-vi, "Cynghor i'r Llyfr," signed "Stephen Hughes."
 P. vii, "Llythyr yr Awdwr," etc.
 „ viii, "Llythyr arall," etc.
 Sig. A, Text begins with "Annerchiad i'r Bruttaniaid," etc. Pp.
 1-534.
 P. 334, Date in stanza, 1620.
 Pp. 534-536, "Gymry Hawddgar," etc.
 Pp. 537-540 (not paged), "Tabl i gael un rhyw Gân," etc.
 Total pp., 16 + 540 = 556.

No. 25.—1771, Crown 8vo.

Y | Seren Fore ; | neu | Ganwyll y Cymry. | Gan | Rhys
 Pritchard, A.M. | gynt | Ficcwr Llanymddyfri. | Gyd â
 'Chwanegiad o | Dri Chant a Hanner o Bennillion, | A
 gymmerwyd allan o | 'Sgrifen-Law yr Awdwr ei hun, |
 Na's Cyhoeddwyd yn un o'r Argraphiadau cyntaf. | A
 gyhoeddwyd ac a Argraffwyd yn | Llanymddyfri, gan
 R. Tomas. | M,DCC,LXXI. | Pris Tri Swllt a Chwe'-cheiniog
 yn rhwym.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Title. Verso Blank.
 Sig. A 2, pp. iii-vi, "Y Rhag-Ymadrodd," etc.
 P. vii, "At y Cymry," etc.
 „ viii, "Hyspysiad."
 Sig. A, Text begins with "Annerchiad i'r Bruttaniaid." Pp. 1-534.
 P. 334, Date in stanza, 1620.
 Pp. 534-536, "Gymry Hawddgar," etc.
 Pp. 537-540, "Tabl i gael un rhyw Gân," etc.
 Total pp., 8 + 540 = 548.

No. 26.—1776, Crown 8vo.

Canwyll y Cymry: | sef | Gwaith | y Parchedig | Mr.
 Rees Prichard, M.A. | Gynt Ficer Llanymddyfri. | The |
 Welshman's Candle: | or the | Works | of the Reverend |

Mr. Rees Prichard, M.A. | Sometime Vicar of Landoverly. |
Deut. xxxi. 19, 21. | Caerfyrddin, | Argraffwyd gan Ioan
Ross, | yn Heol-y-Prior. | MDCCLXXVI.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Title.

Verso, "Hanes . . . Rees Prichard," etc. 2 pp.

Sig. A 2, verso, "Y Rhagymadrodd at y Darllenydd," signed "S.
Hughes." 10 pp.

Pp. xiv-xxii, "Cyngor i'r Llyfr, gan Stephen Hughes."

P. xxiii, "Llythyr yr Awdwr," etc.

P. xxiv, "Llythyr arall," etc.

Sig. A, Text begins with "Cyngor i Wrando," etc. Pp. 13-468 [*sic*
1-456].

P. 253, Date in stanza, 1620.

Pp. 446-468 [*sic* 434-456], "Chwanegiad rhai Lloffion."

Pp. 457-460 (not paged), "Tabl," etc.

Total pp., 24 + 460 = 484.

No. 27.—1798, Crown 8vo.

Y | Seren Foreu; | neu, | Ganwyll y Cymry: | sef, |
Gwaith | y Parchedig | Mr. Rees Prichard, M.A. | Gynt
Ficcwr Llanymddyfri. |

"Bydd fyw'n gywir ac yn gynnwl, |

"Fel pe baet heb un Efenngyl; |

"A bydd farw'n gystal d'obaith, |

"A phe baet heb wel'd y Gyfraith." |

Deut. xxxi. 19. | Ysgrifennwch yr awr hon gan hynny i
chwi y Gân hon; dysg | hi hefyd i feibion Israel; a gosod
hi yn eu genau hwynt, fel | y byddo'r gân hon yn dyst i
mi yn erbyn meibion Israel. | Caerfyrddin: | Argraphwyd
ac ar werth gan I. Evans, | yn Heol-y-Prior.—1798. |
[Pris 2s. 6ch. i'r Rhagdalwyr, a 3s. 6ch. i eraill.]

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Title.

Verso, "Yr Egwyddor Gymraeg."

Sig. A 2, pp. 3-4, "Hanes . . . Rees Prichard," etc.

Pp. 4-8, "Cyngor i'r Llyfr, gan S. Hughes."

Pp. 8-9, "Llythyr yr Awdwr," etc.

Pp. 9-10, "Llythyr arall," etc.

Pp. 10-12, Subscribers' Names.

Sig. B, Text begins with "Annerchiad i'r Brytaniaid," etc. Pp. 13-463.

P. 287, Date in stanza, 1620.

Pp. 464-468, "Tabl i gael unrhyw Gan," etc.

No. 28.—1807, Foolscap 8vo.

Canwyll y Cymry : | sef. | Gwaith | y Parchedig | Mr. Rees Prichard, M.A. | Gynt Ficer Llanymddyfri. | The | Welshman's Candle : | or, | The Works | of the Reverend | Mr. Rees Prichard, M.A. | Sometime Vicar of Landoverly. | Deut. xxxi. 19, 21. | Ysgrifennwch yr awr hon gan hynny i chwi y gân hon ; dysg | hi hefyd i feibion Israel ; a gosod hi yn eu genau hwynt, | fel y byddo'r gân hon yn dyst i mi yn erbyn meibion | Israel : canys nid anghofir hi o enau ei hâd ef. | Caerfyrddin : | Argraphwyd ac ar werth yno gan J. Daniel, yn Heol y | Farchnad Isaf : Ar werth hefyd gan Mr. North, yn | Aberhonddu ; Mr. Jenkins, yn Abertawe ; | a Messrs. Milner a Kaye, Liferpwl. | 1807.

Collation.

P. 1, Title.

Pp. ii-iii, "Hanes . . . Rees Prichard."

Pp. iv-xiii, "Y Rhagymadrodd," signed "S. Hughes."

Pp. xiv-xxiii, "Cyngor i'r Llyfr, gan Stephen Hughes."

P. xxiv, "Llythyr yr Awdwr," etc.

P. xxv, "Llythyr arall," etc.

Pp. 26-472, Text.

P. 266, Date in stanza, 1620.

Pp. 473-476 (not paged), "Tabl."

P. 477 (not paged), "Yr Egwyddor."

Pp. 1-3 [i.e., 478-480], "Llyfrau Cymraeg ar werth," etc.

Date on last page, 1808.

No. 29.—1807, Demy 8vo.

The Welshman's Candle. Canwyll y Cymry : sef, Gwaith y Parchedig Mr. Rees Prichard, M.A. gynt Ficer Llan-

ymddyfri. Ynghyd a chwanegiad rhai Lloffion o waith yr un awdwr; o gasgliad y Parchedig Mr. Griffith Jones, Llanddowror. Deut. xxxi. 19, 21, etc. Caerfyrddin: Argraphwyd ac ar werth gan J. Evans, yn Heol y Prior. 1807.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Title. Verso Blank.
 Sig. A 2, pp. iii-iv, "Hanes . . Rees-Prichard."
 Pp. v-x, "Y Rhagymadrodd," signed "S. Hughes."
 Pp. xi-xiv, "Cyngor i'r Llyfr gan Stephen Hughes."
 P. xv, "Llythyr yr Awdwr."
 P. xvi, "Llythyr arall," etc.
 Sig. A, Pp. 17-470, Text: begins with "Cyngor i wrando," etc.
 P. 261, Date in stanza, 1620.
 Sig. 3 L 3, pp. 471-2 (not paged), "Tabl."

No. 30.—1808, Demy 8vo.

The | Welshman's Candle. | Canwyll y Cymry: | sef |
 Gwaith | y Parchedig | Mr. Rees Prichard, M.A. | Gynt
 Ficer Llanymddyfri | Ynghyd a | 'Chwanegiad Rhai
 Lloffion, | o waith yr un awdwr; | o gasgliad y Parchedig |
 Mr. Griffith Jones, Llanddowror. | Deuteronomium xxxi,
 19, 21. | Ysgrifenwch yr awr hon gan hynny i chwi y Gân
 hon; dysg hi hefyd i | Feibion Israel; agosod hi yn eu Genau
 hwynt, fel y byddo'r Gân hon yn | Dyst i mi yn erbyn
 Meibion Israel: canys nid anghofir hi o Enau ei Hâd ef. |
 Caerfyrddin: | Argraphwyd ac ar werth gan J. Evans, yn |
 Heol-y-Prior. | 1808.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Title. Verso Blank.
 Sig. A 2, pp. iii-iv, "Hanes . . Rees Prichard."
 Pp. v-x, "Y Rhagymadrodd," signed "S. Hughes."
 Pp. xi-xiv, "Cyngor i'r Llyfr gan Stephen Hughes."
 P. xv, "Llythyr yr Awdwr."
 P. xvi, "Llythyr arall," etc.
 Sig. A, pp. 17-470, Text: begins with "Cyngor i wrando," etc.
 P. 261, Date in stanza, 1620.
 Sig. Pp. 471-472 (not paged), "Tabl."

No. 31.—1841, Crown 8vo.

Y Seren Foreu, | neu | Ganwyll y Cymry; | sef | Gwaith Prydyddol | y | Y Parch. Rhys Prichard, M.A. | gynt Ficer Llanymddyfri; | ynghyd a | Nodau Eglurhaol, a Bywgraphiad yr Awdwr, | gan y diweddar | Barch. Rice Rees, B.D. | O Goleg Dewi Sant, Llanbedr, ac aelod o Gymdeithas Goleg | yr Iesu, Rhydychen. | Llanymddyfri; | Argraphwyd a Chyhoeddwyd gan W. Rees, | ar werth hefyd | Gan H. Hughes, a D. Williams, Llundain, | a chan holl lyfrwerthwyr | y Dywysogaeth. | MDCCLXXI.

Collation.

Pp. i-ii, Frontispiece, "Y Neuadd."
 P. iii, Title.
 Verso, Blank.
 P. v, Dedication, "I'r Parch. William Morgan," etc.
 Verso, Blank.
 Pp. vii-viii, "Rhagymadrodd," signed "Y Cyhoeddwr."
 Pp. viii-lxiii [*sic* ix-lix], "Hanes . . . Rhys Prichard."
 Pp. lxiii-lxx [*sic* lix-lxvi], "Pregeth."
 Pp. lxx-lxxii [*sic* lxvi-lxviii], "Cyngor i'r Llyfr," etc.
 P. lxix (not paged), "Llythyr yr awdwr," etc.
 Verso, "Llythyr arall," etc.
 Pp. lxxi-lxxii (not paged), "Dangoseg," etc.
 Pp. 1-598, Text begins with "Annerchiad i'r Brutaniaid."
 P. 337, Date in stanza, 1620.
 Pp. 598-599, "Gweddi."
 Pp. 599-600, "Dangoseg o'r Testunau."
 Total pp., 72 + 600 = 672.

No. 32.—1858, Demy 8vo.

Y | Seren Foreu | neu | Ganwyll y Cymry; | sef | Gwaith Prydyddol | y | Parch. Rhys Prichard, M.A. | gynt Ficer Llanymddyfri; | ynghyd a | Nodau Eglurhaol, a bywgraphiad yr awdwr, | gan y diweddar | Barch. Rice Rees, B.D. | O Goleg Dewi Sant, Llanbedr, ac aelod o Gymdeithas Goleg yr Iesu, | Rhydychen. | Ail Argraphiad

| Llanymddyfri : | William Rees ; Llundain, Longman a'i
Gyfeillion, | ar werth hefyd | gan holl lyfrwerthwyr y
dywysogaeth. | MDCCCLVIII.

Collation.

Frontispiece.

P. i, Title.

Verso, Blank.

P. iii, Dedication, "I'r Cymry," etc.

Verso, Blank.

Pp. v-vi, "Rhagymadrodd," signed "Y Cyhoeddwr."

Pp. vii-viii (not paged), "Dangoseg."

Pp. 9-11, "Cynghor i'r Llyfr, gan Mr. S. Hughes."

P. 12 "Llythyr yr Awdwr" and "Llythyr arall," etc.

P. 13-297, Text: begins with "Annerchiad i'r Brutaniaid."

P. 169, Date in stanza, 1620.

P. 298 (not paged), "Gweddi."

Pp. 299-317, "Hanes . . . Rhys Prichard."

Pp. 318-322, "Pregeth."

Pp. 323-324, "Dangoseg o'r Testunau."

No. 33.—1867, Demy 8vo.

Y Seren Foreu | neu | Ganwyll y Cymry ; | sef | Gwaith
Prydyddol | y | Parch. Rhys Prichard, M.A. | gynt Ficer
Llanymddyfri ; | ynghyd a | Nodiadau Eglurhaol, a
Bywgraffiad yr Awdwr, | gan y diweddar | Barch. Rice
Rees, B.D. | O Goleg Dewi Sant, Llanbedr, ac aelod o
Gymdeithas Goleg yr Iesu, | Rhydychen. | Trydydd
Argraphiad. | Llanymddyfri : | D. J. Roderic ; Llundain,
Longman a'i Gyfeillion ; | ar werth hefyd | gan holl
lyfrwerthwyr y dywysogaeth. | MDCCCLXVII.

Collation.

Frontispiece—"Y Neuadd."

P. 1, Title.

Verso, Blank.

P. iii, Dedication, "I'r Cymry."

Verso, "Hiliogaeth Ficer Prichard."

Pp. v-vi, "Rhagymadrodd," signed "Y Cyhoeddwr."

Pp. vii-viii, "Rhagymadrodd i'r trydydd argraphiad."

- Sig. B, pp. 9-11, "Cynghor i'r Llyfr, gan Mr. S. Hughes."
P. 12, "Llythyr yr Awdwr" and "Llythyr arall," etc.
Pp. 13-297, Text : begins with "Annerchiad i'r Brutaniaid."
P. 169, Date in stanza, 1620.
P. 298, "Gweddi."
Pp. 299-320, "Hanes . . . Rhys Prichard."
Pp. 321-324, "Pregeth."
Pp. 325-326, "Dangoseg o ddechreu 'r canau."
Pp. 327-328, "Dangoseg o'r testunau."

No. 34.—[1887], Demy 8vo.

Y Seren Foreu | neu | Ganwyll y Cymry ; | sef | Gwaith
Prydyddol | y | Parch. Rhys Prichard, M.A., | gynt Ficer
Llanymddyfri ; | ynghyd a | Nodiadau Eglurhaol, a
bywgraphiad yr awdwr. | Gan y diweddar | Barch. Rice
Rees, B.D. | O Goleg Dewi Sant, Llanbedr, ac aelod o
Gymdeithas Goleg yr Iesu, | Rhydychen. | Trydydd
Argraphiad. | Wrexham : | Hughes and Son, 56, Hope
Street. | Llundain : Simpkin, Marshall and Co. | Ar werth
hefyd | gan holl lyfrwerthwyr y dywysogaeth.

Collation.

- P. i, Title.
Verso, Blank.
P. iii, Dedication, "I'r Cymry."
Verso, "Hiliogaeth Ficer Prichard."
Pp. v-vi, "Rhagymadrodd," signed "Y Cyhoeddwr."
Pp. vii-viii, "Rhagymadrodd i'r trydydd argraphiad."
Pp. 9-11, "Gynghor i'r Llyfr."
P. 12, "Llythyr yr Awdwr" and "Llythyr arall," etc.
Pp. 13-297, Text : begins with "Annerchiad i'r Brutaniaid."
P. 169, Date in stanza, 1620.
P. 298, "Gweddi."
Pp. 299-320, "Hanes . . . Rhys Prichard."
Pp. 321-324, "Pregeth."
Pp. 325-326, "Dangoseg o ddechre 'r canau."
Pp. 327-328, "Dangoseg o'r testunau."

SELECTIONS.

No. 35.—1749, Foolscap 8vo.

Pigion | Prydyddiaeth | Pen-Fardd | y | Cymry : |
sef, | Caniadau, Hymnau, | ac | Odlau Ysbrydol ; | Allan o
Waith | Y Parchedig Mr. Prichard, | Gynt Ficcer Llan-
ymddyfri. | Wedi eu casglu er Llesiant i'r sawl a
ewyllysio | fyw'n dduwjol yng Nghrist Jesu. | Preswylied
gair Crist ynnoch yn helaeth, ym | mhob doethineb ; gan
ddysgu, a rhybuddio | bawb ei gilydd, mewn salmau, a
hymnau, ac | odlau ysbrydol, gan ganu trwy râs yn
eich calon- | nau i'r Arglwydd. Col. iii. 16. | Argraphwyd
yn Llundain, gan | Joan Olfir, ym Martholomy Clôs, ger |
llaw Smithffild Gorllewinol. | M.DCC.XLIX.

Collation.

Fig. A 1, p. i, Half-title : " Pigion Prydyddiaeth Pen-Fardd y Cymry."
Verso, Blank.

Fig. A 2, p. iii, Title.

Verso, Blank.

Fig. A 3, pp. v-xiv, " Y Rhagymadrodd."

Pp. xv-xix, " Y Tabl."

P. xx, Blank.

Fig. B, pp. 1-195, Text : begins with " Budd ac Anhepcoiwch," etc.

P. 196, Blank.

Total pp., 216.

No. 36.—1754, Demy 8vo.

A Collection of Hymns of the Children of God in all
Ages, from the beginning till now. In two parts. London,
1754.

[Note.—Hymns 415-421 in Part I are translations of poems
from " Canwyll y Cymry," viz. :—

415, " Awn i Fethlem."

416, " Christ yw Oen y Pasc, a'n Haberth."

417, " Dere, hên bechadur truan."

- 418, "Cred yn nghrist, lléf am dy Geidwad."
419, "Os Tád, os mam, os mab, os merch."
420, "Er fy mendith nac anghofia."
421, "Dysg fy mab wrth Godwm Adda."

No. 37.—1758, Foolscap 8vo.

Lloffion | Prydyddiaeth | sef, | Ynghylch chwech a
deugain o | Ganuau duwiol | O waith | Mr. Rees
Prichard, | gynt Ficcer Llanymddyfri, | wedi | Eu casglu
ynghyd, yn ddiweddar, allan | o'i Bapyrau ef ei hun ; (sef,
y cyfryw | na phrintiwyd erioed o'r blaen) a'u | gosod
mewn Trefn a'u diwygio : | Mor fuddiol i adeiladu, | Ac
mor deilwng i'w printio ag unrhyw Ran o | waith yr
Awdwr parchedig. | Joan vi. 12. | Cesglwch y briwfyd
gweddill, fel na choller din. | Argraphwyd yn Llundain,
gan Joan | Olfir, ym Martholomy Clôs, ger llaw | Smithffild
Orllewinol. | M.DCC.LVIII.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, p. i, Half-title : "Lloffion Prydyddiaeth y Cymry."

Verso, Blank.

Sig. A 2, p. iii, Title.

Verso, "Y Cyssegriad."

Sig. A 3, p. 5, "Egwyddor i'r Anllythyrennog."

Verso, Blank.

Sig. A 4, pp. vii-viii, "Y Tabl."

Sig. B, pp. 1-86, Text : begins with "Am Hollbresennoledeb Duw."

Total pp., 8 + 86 = 94.

No. 38.—1766, Foolscap 8vo.

Lloffion | Prydyddiaeth | sef, | Ynghylch chwech a
deugain o Gan- | uau duwiol, | o waith | Mr. Rees
Prichard, | Gynt Ficcer Llanymddyfri, | wedi | Eu casglu
ynghyd, yn ddiweddar, allan o'i | Bapyrau ef ei hun ; (sef,
y cyfryw na phrin- | tiwyd erioed o'r blaen) a'u gosod mewn
| Trefn, a'u diwygio : | Mor fuddiol i adeiladu, | Ac mor

deilwng i'w printio ag unrhyw Ran o | waith yr Awdwr
parchedig. | Joan vi. 12. | Cesglwch y briwfwyd gweddill,
fel na choller dim. | Argraphwyd yn y Mwythlig, gan J.
Eddowes. | MDCCLXVI.

Collation.

Fig. A 1, p. 1, Half-title: "Lloffion Prydyddiaeth y Cymry."
Verso, Blank.
Fig. A 2, p. iii, Title.
Verso, "Y Cyssegriad."
Fig. A 3, p. v, "Egwyddor i'r Anllythyrennog," etc.
Verso, Blank.
Pp. vii-viii, "Y Tabl."
Pp. 1-86 [?], Text begins with "Am Hollbresennoldeb Duw."
Total pp., 8 + 86 = 94.

No. 39.—[1802,] Crown 8vo.

Dewisol Rannau o Ganiadau | y Parchedig | Rees
Prichard, | Gynt Ficer Llanynddyfri: | Ar ddull Gairlyfr
Cymraeg, a Saesnaeg, hynod o | hawdd, a gwasnaethgar i
ddysgu plant ieuange, | a'u hegwyddori yn y ddwy iaith yn
y Grefydd | Gristnogol. | Select pieces of the Poems | of
the | Rev. Rees Prichard, | Formerly Vicar of Llan-
doverly: | Dictionary-like in Welch and English, very easy |
and useful for young Children, to ground them | in the
Principles of the Christian Religion, in | both Languages. |
Dolgellau | Argraphwyd, | gan Thomas Williams.

Collation.

P. 1, Title.
Pp. 2-16, Text: begins with "Cofiwch Angau."

No. 40.—[1882,] Duo.

Gwreichion | o | Ganwyll y Cymry, | a | Chofnodydd |
Dydd Genedigaeth, etc. | Y penillion wedi eu cymeryd o
waith | yr "Hen Ficer." | Gan S. C. W. E. | "Mae amser
i eni, ac amser i farw."—*Solomon.* | Llundain: |

Cymdeithas y Traethodau Crefyddol, | 56, Paternoster Row ; 65, St. Paul's Churchyard ; | 164, Piccadilly.

Collation.

P. 1, Title.
Verso, "Er Coffadwriaeth."
P. 3, "Nodiad."
Verso, Blank.
Sig. B, p. 5, *et seq.*, Text.

No. 41.—1888, Crown 8vo.

Canwyll y Cymry. | Crynodeb o Ganeuon | Llyfr Ficer Prichard, | o | Llanymddyfri. | Wedi eu dethol gan | Thomas Levi, Aberystwyth. | Newport, Mon. : | W. Jones. Cambrian Works, Commercial Street. | 1888.

Collation.

P. i, Half-title : "Canwyll y Cymry."
Verso, Frontispiece : "Ty Ficer Prichard."
P. iii, Title.
Verso, Blank.
Pp. v-vi, "Rhagymadrodd," signed "Thos. Levi."
" vii-ix, "Cynwysiad."
" x-xvi, "Haws . . Rhys Prichard."
" 17-128, Text : begins with "Llythyr yr Awdwr," etc.

TRANSLATIONS.

(*See above, No. 36.*)

No. 42.—1771, Demy 8vo.

The | Welshman's Candle : | or the | Divine Poems | of | Mr. Rees Prichard, | sometime | Vicar of Landoverly, in Carmarthenshire, | Now first translated into English Verse | By the Rev.¹ | | Carmarthen, | Printed for the translator by J. Ross. | M,DCC,LXXI.

¹ William Evans, Vicar of Llawhaden. The name is not printed on the title.

Collation.

Sig. A, p. 1, Title.

Verso, Blank.

Pp. iii-vii, Translator's Preface.

Pp. viii-ix, "The Life of Mr. Rees Prichard."

Pp. x-xvi (not paged), "Subscribers' Names."

Sig. B, pp. 17-480, Text: begins with "An Epistle from the Author,"
etc.

Sig. Hh, pp. 481-483 (not paged), "Contents."

Pp. 484 (not paged), "Errata."

No. 43.—1785, Demy 8vo.

The Morning Star; | or, the | Divine Poems | of | Mr.
Rees Prichard, | sometime | Vicar of Llandoverly, in
Carmarthenshire. | Translated into English verse. |
London: | Printed and Sold by J. Johnson, | Whitechapel-
Road-Side; | J. Priddy, Bookseller, Fleet-Street; and |
T. Baldwin, Pater-noster-Row. | MDCCLXXXV.

Collation.

P. 1, Title.

Verso, Blank.

Pp. iii-vii, Translator's Preface.

Pp. viii-ix, "The Life of Mr. Rees Prichard."

P. 10-472, Text.

Pp. 473-475 (not paged) "Contents."

., 476-480 (not paged) "Subscribers' Names."

No. 44.—1815, Demy 8vo.

The | Morning Star, | or, the | Divine Poems | of | Mr.
Rees Prichard, | formerly | Vicar of Landoverly, | in |
Carmarthenshire. | Translated into English Verse | By the
Rev. William Evans, | Vicar of Lawhaden. | Merthyr
Tydfil: | Printed by W. Williams, and sold in London, by
Long- | man, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown; Baldwin, |
Cradock and Joy. | 1815.

Collation.

Sig. A, p. i, Title.

Verso, Blank.

Pp. iii-iv, "An Account of Mr. Rees Prichard."

Sig. B, pp. 1-445, Text: begins with "An Epistle from the Author."

Pp. 446-448, "Contents."

Total pp., 4 + 448 = 552.

No. 45.—1821, Foolscap 8vo.

The | Vicar of Llandoverly, | or | Light | from the |
Welshman's Candle. | By John Bulmer. |

Tale tuum carmen nobis, divina poeta,

Quale sopor fessis in gramine, quale per æstum

Dulcis aquæ saliente sitim restringuere rivo.—*Virgil.*

Haverfordwest: | Printed and sold by Joseph Potter; |
Sold also in London by John Offor, 44, Newgate-street; |
and | by J. Evans, Carmarthen. | 1821.

Collation.

P. i, Title.

Verso, Blank.

P. iii, Dedication: "To the Rev. Benjamin Hobson."

Verso, Blank.

Pp. i-xxi [*sic* v-xxv], "Preface."

P. xxvi. "Errata."

„ xxiii-xxv [*sic* xxvii-xxix], "Contents."

„ xxx, Blank.

„ 1, Half-title, "The Vicar of Llandoverly. Book I."

„ 2, "Subject of the First Book."

Pp. 3-173, Text: begins "Necessity and Excellence," etc.

P. 62, Blank.

„ 63, Half-title, "The Vicar of Llandoverly. Book II."

„ 64, "Subject of the Second Book."

„ 115, Half-title, "The Vicar of Llandoverly. Book III."

„ 116, "Subject of the Third Book."

„ 143, Half-title, "The Vicar of Llandoverly. Book IV."

„ 144, "Subject of the Fourth Book."

„ 174, Blank.

„ 175, Half-title, "Notes."

P. 176, Blank.

Pp. 177-240, "Notes."

Sig. I. i, pp. 241-246 (not paged), "List of Subscribers."

Total pp., 30 + 246 = 276.

No. 46.—1830, Foolschap 8vo.

Beauties | of the | Vicar of Llandoverly; | or | Light |
from the | Welshman's Candle, | with notes. | By John
Bulmer. |

Tale tuum carmen nobis, divina poeta,

Quale sopor fessis in gramine, quale per æstum

Dulcis aquæ saliente sitim restinguero rivo.

Virg.

Second Edition. | London: | Holdsworth and Ball, | 18,
St. Paul's Church-yard. | 1830.

Collation.

P. 1, Title.

Verso, Blank.

Pp. iii-xxii, "Preface."

„ xxiii-xxiv, "Contents."

Sig. A, pp. 1-278, Text: begins with "Book I. Scripture Doctrines."

Errata slip pasted on p. iii.

Total pp., 24 + 278 = 302.

SERMON.

No. 47.

Pregeth | o Waith y | Parchedig a'r Enwog |
Rhys Pritchard, A.M. | Gynt o Llanymddyfri. | Wedi ei
chymmeryd allan yn ofalus, | a Ffyddlon, o'i 'Sgrifen Law
ef ei Hun, lle | y gellir canfod ei fod ef mor Hynod yn ei
ddull o | Bregethu, ag yn ei Brydyddu. | Heb. xi. 4. | Y mae
efe wedi Marw, yn llefaru etto. | Awdwr y Bregeth hon a
ddiweddodd ei oes mewn Tangneddyf, | yn Llanymddyfri, ac
a gladdwyd yn yr Eglwys honno, yn Mis | Tachwedd, yn y
Flwyddyn 1644, yn 65 o'i Oed. | Trefecca: | Argraphwyd,

Gan E. Roberts & Co. | 1802. | Pris Dwy-Geiniog, neu Ddeunaw y ddwsen.)

12 pp., Crown 8vo.

First printed by Rhys Thomas at Llandovery *circa* 1771, see *ante*, p. 39. Reprinted in editions of 1841, 1858, 1867, and 1887.

BIOGRAPHY.

No. 48.

Traethodau Bywgraphyddol. | Rhys Prichard, | Ficer Llanymddyfri. | Gan T.L. | [Woodcut of "Y Neuadd."] | Llundain: | Cymdeithas y Traethodau Crefyddol, | 56, Paternoster Row, 65, St. Paul's Churchyard, | and 164 Piccadilly. | Liverpool: Slater Street. Manchester: Corporation Street. | [1883].

32 pp., Crown 8vo.

ERRATA.

Page 5, line 2 from bottom, for "Roger" read "Roger[s]".

Page 6, Nos. 20 and 21 in list to be revised as follows:—

20. 1752, Carmarthen [Evan Powel].

21. [*circa* 1755] Shrewsbury. R. Lathrop.

Page 14, line 6 from bottom, after "first appearance," add "in Welsh."

A Collation of Rees' Lives of the Cambro-British Saints.

By PROFESSOR KUNO MEYER.

THE importance of the various Latin and Welsh texts collected in this volume would warrant a careful examination and minute description of the MSS. from which they are taken, and a diplomatic edition of the kind to which Mr. Gwenogfryn Evans and Mr. Morris Jones have accustomed us. Meanwhile the following list of corrigenda will be acceptable. It is based upon a collation originally made by Mr. Whitley Stokes, who kindly allowed me to use it for my own purposes. Obvious misprints, which are particularly numerous in the Latin texts, have been passed over. Nor have I thought it necessary to indicate throughout where *y* is written *ÿ* in the MS., or where *6* is used instead of *w*, or where an accent is put to distinguish the letter *i*, or, in Latin words, to mark the stressed syllable, as *fugérunt* (p. 51, 4), *érutum* (p. 70, 14), etc.

I. VITA SANCTI BERNACI.

EDITION.

THE MANUSCRIPT.

Vespasian A. xiv, fol. 77b.-80b.

P. 7, 6 Cleddyf	Cledyf
8, 18 Never	Neuer
33 Bernaco percumbenti	Sancto Bernacho percumbente

III. VITA SANCTI CADOCI.

EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT.
	Vespasian A. xiv, fo 17a.—43b.
P. 22, 5 Britannice	Brittánnice
6 Gluigius	Gluiguis
19 Etelichion	Etelicchion
20 Seruguumd	Seruguunid
21 Cornouguil	Cornouguill
ib. Cornoguatlan	Cornoguatlaun
23, 14 legittime	legittimo
25 Talgarth	Talgard
24, 7 Bochriucarn	Boch-riu-carn ¹
35 Altgundliu	Alltgundliu ²
25, 4 Gladusa	Gladusam
16 quos	quum
26 diliculo	diluculo
26, 26 <i>dele</i> nomine Snaud- rentia ³	
27 vocem	voce in
27, 15 eruditur	traditur
30, 28 Hiuguel	Huiguel
31, 31 Pennychen	Pénnychen
32, 13 Nant	Nant (i. flumen)
36, 20 Gnauan	Gnauan
38, 4 insonsuit	insonuit
ib. 13, 15 Landcarvan	Landcaruan
39, 23 Cov	Cób
29 Nantcaruguan	Nant caruguan
40, 14 Brevi	Breui
42, 26 castigationem	castigationem vel correptionem
44, 8 Finnianum	Finniannum

¹ Marks of division inserted.

² The second l imperfectly erased.

³ Misread out of uoce in audientia.

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	EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT.
		Vespasian A. xiv, fo. 17a—43b.
P. 44,	9 Finnianus	Finiannus
45,	3 Ethni	Echni (<i>Vesp.</i>)
	4 Nantcarvan	Nantcaruan
	8 adurnis	aduenis
	12 Gunluc	Gunliauc
	ib. Fynnon Hen	Fynnon Hén (<i>Tit.</i>), Fennun (<i>Vesp.</i>)
	13 Rymni	Rym[n]i
	14 Gulich	Golich (<i>Tit.</i>), Gulych (<i>Vesp.</i>)
	ib. Nadauan	Nadamiam (<i>Tit.</i>), Nadauan (<i>Vesp.</i>)
	ib. Penntirch	Penntirh (<i>Tit.</i>)
	16 Gurimi	Gorenni (<i>Tit.</i>)
	ib. Remni	Rymi (<i>Vesp.</i>)
	27 Midgard	Medgart
48,	7 Lyuguri	Lýuguri
	12 Lauhiir	Lauhíir
	32 Reneder	Keneder
49,	5 tribundas	tribuendas
28	& 29 Kei et Bedwir	Chei et Bedguur
50,	20 Trefredinauc	Tref redinauc
	21 placitum	placitum <i>vel</i> actio litis
	22 Rithguutebou	Rith (i. uadum) guurtebou
	30 Guinnedotiorum	Guinedotiorum
51,	5 pleraque	pleraque <i>vel</i> magna
	7 Finnun Brittrou	Finnun ¹ (i. fons) Brittrou (<i>proprium nomen</i>)
	9 Gunlienses	Gunliuenses
	11 Guinedotorium	Guinedotorum (<i>Vesp.</i>), Snau- dunensium (<i>Tit.</i>)

¹ Altered into fennun.

EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT.
	Vespasian A. xiv, fo. 17a.—43b.
P. 51, 19 Gundliaiuc	Gundliauc
52, 6 misericors	misericors <i>vel</i> deprecabilis
21 Runn	Rúnn
53, 12 XII cim	XUcim
13 Nadavam	Nadauan
31 Rein ... alca	Run ... alea
32 eunuchis	eunuchis <i>vel</i> apparatoribus
54, 1 eunuchos	eunuchos <i>vel</i> assedas
10 XII	Xu
26 Rein	Rún
36 Rein ... Vario	Run ... Uario
55, 1 Osci	Oscæ
2 Lancarvan	Landcarvan
4, 10 Need	Nééd
5 elixatam seu assatam	elixaturam seu assaturam
11 Bycheiniauc	Brecheiniauc
17 Gundliuiti	Gundliuite
20 Pullrud	Pullrud
34 Debunn	Dibúnn
56, 2 ergo	<i>quod</i>
5 (Telianus) .. Maidac	(i. Telianus) . . Maidoc
60, 10 quo a me	quod á me
19 Lanncarvan	Lanncaruan
30 Gundlei patris	Gundleii regis patris
61, 5 ad collem	ad collem <i>vel</i> ad proclium
30 exista	existas
63, 7 Fennuan Hen	Fennúnn Hæn
9 Naduan	Nadauan
18 Igglis	Egglis
21 Walees	Waléés
24 Gualches	Gualehes
25 qui	que

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EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT.
	Vespasian A. xiv., fo. 17a.—43b.
P. 63, 26 Barran	Barren
64, 7 Gualees	Gualéés
65, 30 Riderch	Riderh
66, 18 Lanncarvan	Lanncaruan
68, 30 Lanncarvan	Lanncaruán
76, 20 Quinimo	Quinimmo
77, 5 Morcanentium	Morcannentium
9 usque	usque ad
34 Margetud	Margetud
78, 24 Limphi	Liphi
79, 10 clunererunt	apud Clunerert ¹
17 Reinuc . . Cinan	Reinmuc . . Cinán
18 Carguinu	Carguinn
22, 27 Ned	Ned
25 Reinuc	Reinmuc
81, 23 Lettau	Lettau (i. Brittones)
25 <i>twice</i> Gluigiuis	Gluiguis
30 Biscetbach	Briscehach
31 <i>twice</i> Aulach	Anlach
82, 2 <i>twice</i> Abattach	Aballach
ib. <i>and</i> 3 Baallad	Báállad
4 <i>twice</i> Outigirim	Outigirun
5 Ritigurinum Ritigir	Ritigirnum Ritigirn
7 <i>twice</i> Teuchuant	Teuhuant
10 <i>twice</i> Cimmarch	Cinmarch
12 Meuric Meuricus	Mouric Meouricus
ib. <i>twice</i> Erbie	Erbic Erbicus
13 <i>twice</i> Idnerth	Idnerh
ib. <i>twice</i> Teitpall	Teitfall
17 <i>dele</i> Gladuse	

¹ *I.e.*, Clúain Erairdd, now Clonard, co. Meath.

EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT.
	Vespasian A. xiv, fo. 17a.—43b.
P. 82, 19 <i>twice</i> Abellach	Aballach
20 <i>twice</i> Baalad	Báállad
ib. <i>twice</i> Euguem	Euguein
21 <i>twice</i> Brithguem	Brithguein
25 <i>twice</i> Guoreing	Guorceng
28 Gunleii Gunleius	Guunleii Gundleius
83, 12 Tremgueithen	Treimgueithen
15 Aidanbloch . . Nioy- sgurthin	Aidan bloch . . Niaýsgurth in
24 Tremyrucou	Trem ýrucou
26 Cymmyoucyti	Cýmmýou cýti
30 Pistilcatuc . . . Ar- guistel	Pistýl Catuc . . Arguistil
31 dymbrych	dumbrych
33 Eida . . Trefhenun	Elda . . Trefhinun
34 Ecclussilid	Ecclus silid
84, 3 Caerydicycit	Caýrdicýcit
5 Carthay	Carthau
85, 12 Finniannum	Finiannum
ib. Gnavanum	Gnavanum
86, 25 <i>and</i> 30 Conige	Conige
87, 1 Curhiter	Curhitr
3 Conige	Conige
11 Howhoer . . Coelbiu	Houhoer . . Colbiu
12, 23 <i>and</i> 30 Conige	Conige
13 Atern . . Minuocioi	Ætern . . Minnocioi
26 Bronotguid	Bronnotguid
30 Junemet	Iunemet
31 Mannocioi	Mannocoi
88, 1 Cuan Bunry	Euan Buurs
3 Eltuith . . Cuam	Eltuth . . Euan
4 Cuan	Euan

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	EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT.
		Vespasian A. xiv, fo. 17a.—43b.
P. 88,	6 Catlen	Catlon
	7 Lanhoitlan	Lan hoitlon
	10 Merchiawn	Merchiaun
	16 Cethy . . Seoctus	Cethij . . Scottus
	23 Macmoillo	Mach moilo
	25 Macmoillum	Macmoilum
	30 Hoduan	Boduan
89,	1 Gwallouer	Guallouir
	2 and 8 Pencarnoy	Pencarnov
	3 Gwallouer	Gualluuir
	7 Quinimo	Quinimmo
	9 Judriou	Judnou
	11 Guenlion . . Thiuuc	Guenlioui . . Thiuuc
	21 Curnuet Cogale	Curnet Congale
	22 Alderreg	Atderreg
	30 Guonan . . Soy	Gnouar . . Son
	31 Cingrat. .Elinniu. .	Cungrat . . Eliunui (?) . .
	Rimogcat	Rimogeat
90,	4 Nadauan	Nadhauan
	14 and 27 Cradoc	Cadroc
	34 Guorgethen	Guonguethen
91,	22 Cadoc . . Cleopas	Catoc . . Cleophas
	23 Conachan	Conocan
	34 Connul . . Brunonoi	Conuul (?) . . Biauonoi . .
	. . familie	familia
	35 Guidgen	Guedgen
	36 Tenbiub	Tenbuib
92,	3 Guorcinnim	Guorcinnun
	12 Cornounano	Cornouano
	15 vere	vero
	16 Guorcim	Guorcinn
	17 tua possessione	tuam possessionem

EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT.
	Vespasian A. xiv, fo. 17a.—43b.
P. 92, 19 idoneis	idoneis
20 subsribuntur	subscribuntur
21 Dogwini Jacob	Docgwini Jacobus
22 familie	familia
23 Conmoc . . Comnil	Conmoe . . Corniul (?)
24 Catgeni	Catgen
25 Mauricus	Mouricus
26 Guorbis	Guorbes
27 Hilou	Hilon
29 Rearthr	Reathr
93, 2 Conige	Conige
3 coucuum cyrograph-	concuum i. cyrographum
um	
9 Merchium	<i>perhaps</i> Morchuin
10 reddibus. . Docwin-	redditus . . Docwinno
no	
13 Jonab	Jouab
14 Morcant . . Quoid-	Marcant . . Guoidnerth
nerth	
21 Cassoc	Gassoc
27 Guodgeu	Guodgen
29 Commogoc	Commogoe
30 Beuonoc . . Heargin	Beuonoe . . Hearngin . .
Cutegurn	Outegurn
33 Guedgan	Guedgen
34 Morceneo	Morcenev
94, 4 Malguni	Mailguni
5 Malgonus	Malconus
17 bile	Bile
19 Crucglas	Cruc glas
23, 33 Argantbad	Argantbacl (?)
30 diluculo	diluculo

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EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT.
	Vespasian A. xiv, fo. 17a.—43b.
P. 94, 33 Cadocum	Cadócum
95, 23 Glewisiçg. . Gun- liauc	Glewisiçg <i>vel</i> Guent . . Gun- liuuc
29 Gunliuuc	Gunliūc
96, 14 Gundliuuc	Guundliuuc
25 <i>in the margin</i> Helia- nus	
27 Seru	Serú

IV. VITA SANCTI CARANTOCI.

Vespasian A. xiv, fol. 93a.

P. 97, 6 ex chere ircinis	exchere uicinis
15 9. t. h. f.	9. i. h. f. ¹
19 perexit	<i>per</i> rexit
23 Thuthaius	Thuihaius
24 Anpachus	Anpacus
99, 2 Kerediciaun	Kerediciaum (i. Keredigan)
5 postea ad Sabrinam	postea ad Sabrinam (hoc est mait)
11 Carrum	Carrum (i. locus)
21 <i>over dedit is written</i> misit	
100, 7 Carrou	Carrov
31 Britguenin	Britguenni
32 Avallach	Aballach
36 Mertaun	Mertiaun
101, 3 Etery	Etern
4 Dobyр Duis	Doubyр Dviv
6 Kerediciaun	Kerediciaun (i. Keredigan)

¹ *I.e.* "quam incundum habitare fratres," Psalm cxxxii, 1.

VI. VITA SANCTI DAVID.

EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT.
	Vespasian A. xiv, fo. 61a.
P. 117, 19 Linhenlanum	Lin henlan ú
119, 21 Cruvnther	Criumther
34 compus	campus
120, 5 offerendas	offerendas
34 Belue Menevien- sium	Helue Meneviensium (<i>vel</i> Muminensium)
123, 24 Bathboniam	Bathoniam
27 at . . Colquan	et . . Colquan
28 Legminstre	Leuministre
30 Raglan	Raglam
34 Martuin	Maitiun (?)
124, 1 Guislianus	Guistilianus
11 Ysmahel	Ismahel
125, 21 ludite	ludicra
126, 15 <i>and</i> 24 Dunant	Dunaut
21 cuput	caput
29 Paucant	Paucat
129, 33 <i>dele</i> Abbatem	
131, 30 Scutinus. .Scolanus	Scutinus . . Scolanus
133, 32 Cruedin	Cruedín
135, 3 calcia	caltia
136, 25 Langemelack	Langemelach
29 inscens	ínserens
137, 10 Brevi	Breui
138, 7 ulutatus	ululatus
10 ululatus	ubi luctus
144, 6 <i>twice</i> Docil	Doeil
8 <i>twice</i> Angueret	Anguerit
10 <i>and</i> 11 <i>twice</i> Fugen	Eugen
11 <i>twice</i> Fudolen	Eudolen

VII. VITA SANCTI GUNDLEII.

EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT.
	Vespasian A. xiv, fo. 13a.
P. 145, 6 Gliuusus	Gliuisus
3 Gunlyuuauc	Gunluývauc
23 Gulatmorgantie	Gulat Morgantie
148, 23 Gunliiu	Gunlyu
34 Dutelich	Dutelic
35 tali	taliter
151, 22 Saverna	Savernam (<i>vel</i> Sabrinam)
34 Guinodocie	Guinodocie (.i. Snaudune)
152, 4 victorie <i>written over</i> monie	
6 commovuit	commonuit
12 Safrnicum	Safrunicum (.i. Sauerna)
153, 36 Gulatmorgantiam	Gulat Morgantiam
154, 21 obsecratione viola- turis	obcecatione violatoris
156, 25 Gunleii	Gundleíf
28 Gunlyu	Gunley
157, 4 Gunlyu	Gundleý
9 publice	puplice

VIII. VITA SANCTI ILTUTI.

	Vespasian A. iv, fo. 43b—52a.
P. 158, 5 Letavia	Letavia (.i. Britannia minor)
17 dlectus	dilectus
159, 13 catecuminacione	caticuminacione
27 Arthuri	Arthurii
35 Morcaniensium . . Trynnihid	Morcanensium . . Tryñihid
162, 7 connubia	conubia
16 peremitariam	heremitariam
167, 31 Dewi	Dewi (.i. Daud)

EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT.
	Vespasian A. iv, fo. 43b.—52a.
P. 170, 26 Letavia	Letavia (.i. Britannia minori)
171, 1 persolatus	<i>pro solatíis</i>
2 lacrimabile	lacrimabili
3 illico erupit	ilico erúpit
35 Trinihid	Trinihid
172, 36 Meirchiaum	Meirchianum
173, 1 ut	ud
177, 8 Lingarchicam	lingarthicam
13 Garthica	lingarthica
28 latronibundis	latronibus
30 latrunculi	latrunculi de regione Brecheniauc
178, 28 Letavia	Letávia id est minor Brittannia
179, 11 pollictia	pollicito
24 que qualitate	et equali[ta]te
182, 13 Guynedotie	Guýnedotiæ (spaudune)

IX. VITA SANCTI KEBIL.

	Vespasian A. xiv, fo. 86a.—88a.
P. 183, 8 Gerenit	Gereint
23 Kengar	Kengair
184, 2 Decendit	Descendit
14 Lankepi	Lan Kepi
15 Landaverguir	Landaver guir
16 cimbalum	cimbalum (.i. nola)
20 <i>and</i> 31 Arum	Aruin ¹
23 eui	cui

¹ *I.e.*, the oblique case of the Irish name of the island (*'Arú f.*, dat. acc. *'Arainn*).

EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT.
	Vespasian A. xvi, fo. 86a.—88a.
P. 184, 27, 28 &c., Fintam	Fintan ¹
185, 6 alligebatur	alligabatur
9 Arum	Aruin
29 Vobyun	Vobvún
36 materim	materim
37 Crubthirfintam	Crubthir Fintan
186, 17 Caffo	Caffó
27 Gwenidocie	Gwenedocie

X. VITA SANCTI PATERNI.

	Vespasian A. xiv, fo. 80b.—84b.
P. 189, 29 Corus	corus
35 Hetinlau	Ketinlau (?)
190, 37 Ceringuen	cirguen ²
191, 7, 18 and 21 Nimanauc	Nimannauc
30 proclivum Clarach	perclivum Clarauch
192, 18 Illico	Ilico
21 Retiaul	Reciaul (?)
193, 27 Bretbras	Brecbras
197, 7 Maelgun	Mailgun
16 caput	capud ³
28 Liulnum	Liuluuin
29 Retiaul	Reciaul (?)

XI. VITA SANCTE WENFREDE.

	Claudius A. v, fo. 138a—145b.
P. 198, 12 Abelityc	Abeluyc
15 nuncupata	numpcupata
199, 25 Beluye	Beluyc
201, 31 bendictionem	benedictionem

¹ In line 34, however, the MS. has Fintam.² *In marg.* nomen baculi pacificantur.³ Cf. *ud* for *ut*, p. 173, 1.

EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT.
P. 205, 1 nichilominus	nichillominus
209, 11 ecelsiam	eclesiam

APPENDIX.—I. BUCHEDD CATRIN SANTES.

Titus D. xxii, fo. 175a.

P. 211, 9 nyd	nyt
231, 31 benedictionem	benedictionem
10 yggwasanaeth	yggwasanaeth
13 Cristnoygon	Cristogyon
21 o hir . . dygassant	ohir . . dugassant
212, 3 yn y ffyd	myn y ffyd
16 lawenyd	lewenyd
18 vedylyaw	vedyllyaw
25 goruot	oruot
27 ni	ny
213, 15 ysgriuenedic	yscriuenedic
17 alleu	allei
30 o honunt	ohonnunt
36 disgybl . . heb y Katrín	disgyble' . . heb Katrin
214, 1 Yspryd	yspryt
8 dywawt	[d]ywuwt
9 kyvreith	kyfreith
12 Alexandria	Alexandra
18 y gwr	yr gwr
19 llydyawd	llidyawd
20 wasanaethwyr	wassanaethwyr
21 wrthynt	wrthunt
35 wasanaeth	wassanaeth
215, 1 ysgriuennu	yscriuennu
10 hwy	wy

¹ *le added over the line.*

EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT.
	Titus D. xxii, fo. 175a.
P. 215, 11 calonneu	callonneu
13 Thernagawnt	Theruagawnt
16 chwy	chwi
21 yr Iessu	y Iessu
22 and 23 Tad	tat
27 ygwasanaethwyr	y wassanaethwyr
216, 9 dylyy	dylyy di
18 duywen	dywen
31 parth y nef	parth ar nef
32 val	ual
217, 9 Ni	Ny
14 hynuydrwyd	hynuytrwyd
18 gwreic	gwōreic.
20 emelltigedic	emelldigedic
25 ysgriuenedic	yscriuenedic
26 Cristiawn	Cristawn
27 ynotti	ynot ti
28 yn	ym
29 diffyc	diffryt
34 folineb	ffolineb
36 gorchymynnaf vy hyspryt	gorchymynnafi vy yspryt
218, 1 gannatau . . dyred	ganhatau . . dyret
10 diodefyeint	diodeifyeint
14 iachawdyr	iachōyawdyr

III. VITA SANCTI AIDUI.

Vespasian A. xiv, fo. 96b.

P. 232, 6 Maccuates	Maccuaies
8 Driumlethan	Druimlethan
13 antiqui	antequam
235, 6 Ammerus	Ainmeri

EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT.
	Vespasian A. xiv, fo. 96b.
P. 235, 7 sub tectas	subiectas
10 Anmerus	Ainmerus
13 semitipsum	semetipsum
234, 19 Siniuch	Sinnich
23 Bosargente . . Oruntham	Bosargenti . . Crimthain
24 demersi	dimersi
25 perfundum	profundum
35 Cuchait	Euchait
237, 23 latvunderi	latrunculi
24 noscerent	nocerent
238, 7 Dunma	Dimma
22 mater Choche	matrem Chóche
26 Accel	Accell
33 Ierthnandesse	Ierichnandesse ¹
36 Nambri	Naubri
239, 27 Vuainmar	Cluain mar
30 Ammereth	Ainmereth
243, 16 Cogin	Eogin
17 Coci	loci
22 concutiatis	conculcans
241, 27 Cochae	Eochae
242, 3 uncula	anela
7 in Bercrimtham	Inbercrimthain
30 Aidi	Aido
243, 17 terminavit	ieiunavit
28 Imgout	Imgoui
244, 5 Hirlcore	Hirlocre
6 Mochve	Mochúe
27 Cluam claidbich	cluain claidbich ²

¹ *I.e.*, i crích na nDése.

² *In l. 16 for Clabdig (sic MS.) read Cladbig.*

EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT.
	Vespasian A. xiv, fo. 96b.
P. 244, 29 Brundub	Brandub
245, 10 Connacta	Connacte
35 Molocco	Molocca
246, 35 Sarran	Saran
247, 3 et	ei
25 Quodam	Quadam
248, 1 Locram	Locrē
24 labiis	labiis illius
249, 7 brensei	brenlei (?)
14 Ameredii	Aineredii
250, 4 Athu . . galq . . ceu	A Ihu . . galar . . cen ¹
6 oroferor	orofetor
7 mertha	m̄tha
9 itru . . arcet	ihu . . arcec

¹ On p. 573 there is printed an attempt by O'Curry to make sense of the Irish sentences so sadly miswritten by the Welsh scribe. But O'Curry does not seem to have observed that these sentences are in the form of three quatrains, a circumstance which affords material help in their reconstruction. Other quatrains ascribed to St. Moling will be found in Stokes' edition of *Féilire Oengusso*, p. ciii, and in the *Revue Celtique*, xiv, p. 190. I propose to restore the three quatrains as follows:—

A 'Isu, ó rofetor ar sáethu,
galar fil form, inmain de óé nombebad, a 'Isu.

A 'Isu, ó rofetor ar lussu,
nommicc, nádab iar n-assu, nimthá liaig acht tussu.

Do chroch, a meic Dé bí, ar cech galar madomthí:
minomicca sin, ní fil arde nodicca fo nim.

'O Jesu, as Thou knowest our afflictions,
The disease which is on me, it is welcome, though I should die of
it, O Jesu!

'O Jesu, as Thou knowest our (healing) herbs,
Heal me, let it not be too late! I have no leech save Thee.

'Thy cross, O Son of the living God, against every disease, if it
come to me.

Unless that heal me, there is not under heaven a sign that heals it.'

EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT.
	Vespasian A. xiv, fo. 96b.
P. 250, 10 <i>minerica</i>	<i>miñica</i>
11 <i>dormivit</i>	<i>dormiret</i>

IV. VITA SANCTI BRENDANI.

	Vespasian A. xix, fo. 104b—105b.
P. 251, 4 <i>Tinloc</i>	<i>Finloc</i>
5 <i>Cogeni Straguile . .</i>	<i>Eogeni. Stagnile . .</i>
<i>Numensium</i>	<i>Mumensium</i>
10 <i>and</i> 19 <i>Barurchus</i>	<i>Barinthus</i>
253, 32 <i>Mernos</i>	<i>Mernóc</i>
254, 13 <i>Brendatus</i>	<i>Brendanus</i>
16 <i>and</i> 28 <i>Barurchus</i>	<i>Barinthus</i>

V. VITA SANCTI TATHEL.

	Vespasian A. xiv, fo. 88b—92a.
P. 256, 16 <i>Here the MS. has the heading</i> <i>De transitu</i>	<i>ad Britanniam</i>
258, 12 <i>Ynyr</i>	<i>Ynyrii</i>
262, 18 <i>Tesychius</i>	<i>Tesychius</i>

VIII. DE BRACHAN BRECHEINIAUC.

	Vespasian A. xiv, p. 602.
P. 272, 6 <i>Theuderic</i>	<i>Teuderic</i>
8 <i>Brancoyn</i>	<i>Bran coyn</i>
10 <i>apprime</i>	<i>apprime</i>
14 <i>and</i> 21 <i>Aulac</i>	<i>Anlac</i>
15 <i>Lansevinin</i>	<i>Lan-semin or perhaps Lan-</i> <i>senun</i>

EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT.
	Vespasian A. xiv, p. 602.
P. 272, 18 Metbrun	Metbrum <i>or perhaps</i> Meth- rum
273, 3, 7 and 26 Aulach	Anlach
9 dicit Emfernach . .	dicitur Enifernach . .
Lathmilich	Lithmilich
10 Mainaur . . Lounoie	Maiuaur . . Louuoic
13 Brecheiniauc	Brecheniauc
28 oppressit	oppressit Banadlinet
35 Tewderic	Teuderic
274, 2 Clytuin	Clytguin
4 Clytguin	Clytguein
6 manie.Dingat	mannie.Dynigat
9 Rydoc vel Judoc	Rydoch (.i. Judoc)
10 Ridoch de vent Windourth	Ridoch (.i. eurus) windouith de vent
14 Enivel . . Hynyd	Euineil . . Hunyd
15 Melthreu	Meltheu
16 cof	cof (.i. memorie)
18 Cantre bychan . . Kebinagyr	Cantrebochan . . Kehingayr
19 Karedic	Keredic
20 fuit David	fuit sancti David
21 Cadeathuc	Cadcathuc
22 Brochuael Schitrave	Brochuail Schitrauc (v. cum dentibus)
23 Mugh . . Sanans . . Sanans	Meigh . . Sanand . . Sanant
25 Gerenerth . . Powys . . Joruerdiaun	Gereuerth . . Powis . . Joruertiaun
27 Aithen Bradoc	Haidani bradoc (.i. in- sidiosi)

EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT.
	Vespasian A. xiv, p. 602.
P. 274, 28 a gorwed yn Nhywyn ym Meirion	que iacet in Thywin in Merioneth
ib. Nyneir	Nyuein
29 Konvar . . Meir- chiawn	Kenvarch . . Meirchiaun
30 Urien mater Cuer- delid mater . . Elidur Goscordd vawr	Vruoni matris Euerdel mat- ris . . Elidir Coscor vaur (.i. magne familie)
31 <i>dele</i> mater Elidir coscoruaur	
32 Ledanwen	Lidanwen
33 hen	hen (.i. ueteris)
35 Gurind barmberuch	Guruid barnbetruch
36 Ciliveth	Eiliveth
37 ygryge gors anail	y gruge gors auail (.i. in agere lacus caltronis)
275, 1 ythrauit ogmor kedeython	ythraul ogmor. Keueython
2 cheunot	cheuor
3 Dewyn . . Anglis	Duyn . . . i. in Anglese
6 Brochan	Brachan
8 Aulach	Anlauch
9 Lanespetit	Lan espetit
10 Ribrawst et Roistri	Ribraust et Proistri
11 Keredigaun	Keredigan
16 Gwyncledyburdh	Gugancledyburdh
ib. fil . . (<i>thrice</i>)	<i>filius</i> . . <i>filii</i> . . <i>filii</i>
17 Karanone fil	Karanouc <i>filius</i>
18 fil . . Ker	<i>filius</i> . . <i>Keredic</i>
20 Tydiuc	Tyduic (?)

X. EPITOME HISTORIAE BRITANNIAE.

EDITION.

THE MANUSCRIPT.

Titus D. xxii, fo. 22a.

P. 278,	3 Anno mo.	Anno m°.
	26 Faganum et Diwanum	Ffaganum et Dubanum
279,	20 Morgannuc	Morgannuci
	23 Post	Et post
	29 Fortigerni	Ffortigerni
280,	23 vociferaret	vociferarent
	34 YOUR	zour
282,	5 Kereticus	Kareticus
284,	15 usque ad	usque ad Adam
	20 Ioruerth droyndon	Ioruarth droynd6n
285,	6 decolatus	decollatus
	9 Revel	Reuel
	19 Lantressen	Lantreissen
	29 bivis serutatas	biviis seruatas

(To be continued).

Further Notes on the Court of the Marches.

(WITH ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.)

By D. LLEUFER THOMAS.

THE following observations are intended to preface, and in some degree to elucidate, a few documents relating to the history of the Court of the Marches. A sketch of the general history of that Court, with a more particular account of its personnel and jurisdiction, both immediately after the Act of Union and also some forty years later, was contributed to the last number of this journal by His Honour the late Judge David Lewis. This account was largely based upon contemporary letters and reports preserved at the Record Office, a selection of which Mr. Lewis had intended to have printed at length by way of Appendix to his paper. His untimely death, however, intervened, and the publication of the documents referred to had consequently to be deferred till the present number. While endeavouring to avoid a mere repetition of what has already been written on the subject, it is necessary to bring into saliency a few facts which may tend to show to what extent was there any continuity in the methods and policy of the Court and how far they were also varied from time to time. Several points not hitherto dealt with will also be briefly noticed.

It was in the reign of Edward IV that Ludlow was first established as a sort of capital of the Welsh Marches.

That king was the first to send the heir-apparent to the throne to hold Court in Ludlow. Born in November 1470, the King's eldest son—afterwards the ill-starred Edward V—was created Prince of Wales on 26 June, 1471. On 17 July of the same year, he received formal grants of the Principality of Wales, the counties palatine of Chester and Flint, and the Duchy of Cornwall. About the same time the King appointed a Council for the infant Prince, for the control of his education, and the management of his household. A business council for the affairs of the Principality was also appointed on 20 February, 1473;* and shortly afterwards, if not indeed previously, the Prince was sent down to Ludlow to keep court there with his mother, the Queen. "On 23 September the King drew up a set of ordinances alike for the 'virtuous guiding' of the young child, and for the good rule of his household, in which a more special charge was given to Earl Rivers (the Prince's maternal uncle) and John Alcock, Bishop of Rochester, than in the appointment of 1471."† Furthermore, on the 10th of November, Earl Rivers was appointed the Prince's governor, and Bishop Alcock his schoolmaster and President of his Council. Honours and special privileges were from time to time bestowed on the young Prince by his royal father, who also granted him numerous castles and lordships in Wales and the Marches. Of greater constitutional significance, however, was his appointment as Justiciar of Wales on 2 January, 1476, and the conferment upon him, on 29 December of the same year, of power to appoint

* Patent Roll, 12 Ed. IV, part 2, memb. 21.

† Mr. James Gairdner's article on Edward V in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, quoting the *Collection of Ordinances for the Household*, published by the Society of Antiquaries, 1790, pp. [*27] *sq.*

other justices in the Principality and Marches—a power which was, of course, to be exercised by his Council. It was subsequent to this, namely, in April, 1478, that the Prince and his Council paid their visit to Shrewsbury (referred to in *Y Cymmrodor*, xii, 21-3), sitting there in the Town-hall and making “certayne ordonances for the weale and tranquillitie of the same Towne.” What other visitations were made it is difficult to say, but the probability is that the young Prince spent most of his time at Ludlow, where he was still residing at the death of his father in April, 1483.* Though young Edward must have spent fully ten years in the Marches, very little is known concerning the work of his Council. Gerard tells us that his “Councillors were not resident,”—from which we may perhaps infer that they were merely summoned at irregular intervals or on emergencies. It is not unlikely that the Lord President busied himself more with the education of the young Prince than with any schemes for reforming the chronic lawlessness of the area under his jurisdiction.

We hear no more of a Court at Ludlow for a period of some ten years. Meanwhile, Henry VII had ascended the throne, and about 1493 he appears to have decided on repeating the Edwardian experiment, by sending his then heir and eldest son, Prince Arthur, to Ludlow. The castle there was refitted for the Prince’s reception, and another residence was also provided by the erection of a palace, amidst picturesque surroundings, on the western banks of the Severn, at Tickenhill, near Bewdley, in Worcestershire. During the Prince’s lifetime, the Court which he held at Ludlow bore no other name than “Prince

* On 26 Feb., 1483, or exactly six weeks before his death, the King granted to the Prince the lordships of Usk and Caerleon. It was, perhaps, the last token of his parental affection for his son.

Arthur's Council." Owing to his youth—he was only sixteen when he died in 1502—the task of presiding over the deliberations of the Council must have been performed, as in the case of Prince Edward, by one of the Councillors, most probably William Smith, or Smyth, Bishop of Lincoln. At all events, it is he that is mentioned in the Court's own records as being the first Lord President of the Council, Alcock's previous tenure of the office being ignored.

From his youth upwards Smith, who has been described by a recent biographer* as "one of the enlightened statesmen prelates of his age," had the good fortune to enjoy the patronage of Henry VII and his mother, Margaret, the Countess of Richmond. It was in the latter's household, where a sort of private school was maintained, that, according to a probable tradition, he had received his early education. At the beginning of 1493, when he was only about twenty-three years of age, he was made Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield,† while even two years previously the temporalities of the see had been unconditionally

* Mr. I. S. Leadam, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. This work, it may also be mentioned, contains articles on all the Lords President (with some four or five exceptions) from the establishment down to the abolition of the Court.

† This was the usual title of the Diocese of Lichfield down till 1836. At the time referred to in the text, it was colloquially known as the Diocese of Chester, though strictly speaking there was no Diocese of that name before 1541, when the Chester Diocese was carved out of that of Lichfield. The important border towns of Chester and Shrewsbury lay within its limits, though Ludlow and Bewdley were in the Diocese of Hereford. The Diocese of Lichfield still extends westwards nearly to Wat's Dyke, and actually includes within its boundaries one small bit of Wales, namely, the ecclesiastical parish of Penley in Flintshire. It is to be noted that four out of the eight bishops who became Presidents of the Council were or had been Bishops of Lichfield, while a fifth had been Chancellor and Vicar-General of the diocese.

granted to him, for his own personal use if so he thought fit to apply them. He at once diligently applied himself to his episcopal duties, but his attention was almost immediately withdrawn from them by Welsh affairs, for within three months after arriving in his diocese he was acting as a member of Prince Arthur's Council. Scarcely did a year elapse before he found it necessary to appoint a suffragan, so as to enable him to be in continual attendance at the Council, from which, during the next few years, he seems to have been seldom absent. Though translated in January 1496, from Lichfield to Lincoln, he was unable to find time to make his first entry into the cathedral city of his new diocese before the spring of 1501, a projected visitation in the previous year having been frustrated by a sudden recall to Bewdley on business relating to the Marches. It was on 22 August 1501, however, that he was formally appointed Lord President of the Council, being in fact the first on whom the title was conferred; but as a matter of fact he had been president in all respects but the name for several years previously. In September of the same year (1501), Prince Arthur paid a visit to Oxford, accompanied by Smith, who was then Chancellor of that University. Some two months later (Nov. 14) the Prince was married to Catherine of Arragon, and shortly afterwards he returned with his bride to Ludlow, attended as before by Smith, whose presidency has been erroneously described by most authorities as dating only from the time of the Prince's return after the marriage. Within less than five months, namely, on 2 April, 1502, the Prince died at Ludlow, and during the remainder of his reign the royal parent does not appear to have taken any further interest in the Council which had been named after the Prince whom he had now lost. The second son, Prince Henry (afterwards Henry VIII),

was, it is true, created Prince of Wales about twelve months later, but he was never, like his brother, sent to Ludlow, nor does it seem that the now neglected Council of the Marches was ever called after his name. After Prince Arthur's death, Bishop Smith, too, though he continued President, was much less occupied with the business of the Council. With the death of both his royal patrons—Henry VII and the Countess of Richmond—in 1509, his name practically disappears from the Domestic State Papers. His later years he appears to have wholly spent within his diocese, where he died on 2 January, 1514.

Smith was not only the first, but also one of the greatest of the many prelates who presided over the Council of the Marches. His fame as an administrator has, to some extent, been eclipsed by that of Bishop Lee, of whom we shall speak presently—partly because a policy of repression, such as the latter pursued, leaves a more abiding impression on the public mind, and furnishes more tangible material for the historian than a policy of conciliation. Lee was undoubtedly a strong personality; but without the strength of Thomas Cromwell to support him, not to mention that of Cromwell's royal master, Henry VIII, Lee's administration in the Marches might have spelt failure, and have resulted in a serious revolt. Gentler methods were resorted to by Smith, whose aim seems to have been to educate the Welsh gentry by an appeal to their love of display, and of social enjoyments generally* ;

* To enable him to provide a liberal table for himself and the Council, Smith was granted a salary of £20 a week, equivalent, it has been computed, to £12,000 a year of our money. Smith's benefactions were so numerous and liberal that, according to Fuller, "this man wheresoever he went may be followed by the perfume of charity he left behind him."

the power of the central government was therefore represented at Ludlow, in his time, more by the courtly dignity and exalted condition of the councillors, and by a generous expenditure on splendid court entertainments, rather than by such object lessons in coercion as the wholesale gibbeting of felons which delighted the heart of "Bishop Rowland."

Henry VII's intention was, undoubtedly, that Ludlow Castle should be a royal residence for the Prince of Wales for the time being, and this fact rendered it necessary that the Prince's Council should, as far as possible, be stationary rather than perambulatory. In this respect it differed from the Council presided over by Bishop Lee, while the difference between it and the earlier experiment of Edward IV, seems to have consisted in the fact that its members were in continual attendance at the Court, and not merely summoned thereto as occasion required. This is presumably the meaning to be attached to Gerard's statement in his Discourse, when he says that Henry VII sent Prince Arthur to Ludlow, "and with him Counsellors and Commissioners, here to remain settled (for allthough kinge E. the 4 sent hether Counsellors yett they were not resident)."

For fully twenty-three years after Prince Arthur's death, no member of the Royal family seems to have even visited, still less resided at, Ludlow, and consequently the Council of the Marches lost much of its importance during that period. The Lord Presidency was not, however, allowed to lapse, for on Smith's death, in 1514, a successor was appointed in the person of Jeffery Blythe, whose chief qualification was that he had been Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield since 1503, and might therefore be presumed to have some acquaintance with the Marches, at least on the English side. He was probably not expected to pay much close attention to Welsh affairs, and his energies were in

fact chiefly directed to the repair and decoration of his Cathedral at Lichfield. If the expression might be allowed, his appointment was in the nature of a "stop-gap," for no sooner was it decided to send another member of the royal family to Ludlow, than Blythe was superseded in the Presidency of the Council. It was in September 1525, that Henry VIII sent to the capital of the Marches his then only surviving child born in wedlock, the Princess (afterwards Queen) Mary, who at that time was barely ten years of age. Though she had not been formally created Princess of Wales, the King then seemed disposed, in the absence of legitimate male issue, to regard her as such, and she was generally so described, except in strictly legal documents.

So responsible a charge as the custody and supervision of the successor-apparent to the Throne could be entrusted only to some tried and accomplished courtier who enjoyed a full measure of the King's favour. Blythe was therefore superseded (though he continued Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield till his death in 1530), and the Lord Presidency, with "the governement of the King's onelie daughter ladie Marie Princesse of Wales,"* was conferred upon John Voysey (or Veysey), Bishop of Exeter, then reputed to be "the best courtier among the bishops." Voysey was by no means unacquainted with the district he was now sent to, for he had previously acted for a few years (1498-1502) as Vicar-General and Chancellor for John Arundel, Blythe's predecessor in the bishopric of Lichfield. He had also been Archdeacon of Chester (1499-1515), and still later had been presented by the King, on 10 July 1518, to the rich living of Meifod in Montgomeryshire. Whatever may have been the case with the former, the latter was, of

* Powel's *History of Wales*, (ed. 1584), p. 393.

course, a sinecure appointment, and most probably Blythe never set foot within the limits of Wales itself. A large retinue of courtiers was bestowed upon the princess, and with Voysey at the head of affairs, we may be sure that the ceremonial functions of the Court were by no means neglected. Special mention is made of the pomp with which the Princess kept her first Christmas at the Castle.

But Ludlow seemed to bring ill-luck to its royal residents. Though the King had exhibited his solicitude for the Princess, by including in the instructions to the Lord President very explicit directions as to her mental and physical culture, she was shortly to be treated but as a pawn in the battle-royal he was waging against her mother. For immediately he resolved to secure a divorce from Catherine, almost his first "move" in the game was to break up the Princess's household at Ludlow, as a precaution against the possible formation of a political party in her favour. In 1528, Mary was therefore recalled and degraded from the status of Princess. With his occupation gone, Voysey probably returned to the more congenial atmosphere of the Kings' own court, leaving Welsh affairs to take their own course, though he retained the official position of Lord President till 1534. During this interval, there was no strong authority to keep in check the latent lawlessness of the Marches, which since the withdrawal of Mary—and possibly owing to that act, had grown so rampant as to become well-nigh intolerable.* Down to this time, Henry VIII had probably no very defi-

* Wales did not stand quite alone in this respect. Several other parts of England, notably the counties of Hants, Wilts, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall, were also in a somewhat lawless condition at this time, and as Froude puts it were in need of "discipline of a similar kind" to that administered to the Welsh Marches by Rowland Lee. Henry VIII first addressed a circular letter to the Justices of Peace in

nite policy as regards Wales, but with the assistance of his clear-headed minister Thomas Cromwell, he seems to have realised that no policy other than one of stern repression was now possible. To carry this out a man of Cromwell's own stamp was required, and the courtly Voysey was therefore succeeded by Rowland Lee, perhaps the most unclerical prelate ever raised to the episcopal bench in England.

Curiously enough the new Lord President had come into some contact with two of his predecessors in that office. It was by William Smith, then bishop of Lincoln, that he was ordained, while Blythe, about 1527, not only conferred on him a prebend in Lichfield Cathedral but also made him his Chancellor. But it was contact with Cromwell that influenced the whole of Lee's subsequent career. They are first mentioned as associated together in 1528, being then engaged by Wolsey in the suppression of some of the lesser monasteries,* but two years later we find proof of Cromwell's high opinion of Lee in the fact that he placed his son under Lee's care. During the next few years, Lee was constantly employed in the King's service, in most delicate matters relating to the divorce proceedings, and there is some ground for believing—though tradition is somewhat uncertain on the point and there is no conclusive documentary evidence—that it was Lee who celebrated the secret marriage between Henry and Ann Boleyn. His appointment to the bishopric of Coventry and Lichfield, in December 1533, was presumably his reward.

those Western Counties of England, but that proving ineffectual, special commissions were despatched to them in 1539, with the result that numerous felons were hanged (see Froude's *History of England*, iii, 233 *et seq.*).

* Lee's cousin, Sir Thomas Lee (or Legh as his name was more commonly written), was at a later date engaged along with the Welshman, Sir John Price, in the suppression of the larger monasteries.

To this was added, in the following May, the Lord Presidency of the Marches Court. Lee's outspokenness in his correspondence enables us to realise pretty vividly what manner of man he was. He was essentially a man of action. "I was never hitherto in the pulpit," was his own statement more than a year after he had been made bishop. Nor is it likely that he subsequently paid more personal attention to his spiritual, or episcopal duties, especially as he appointed a suffragan to attend to them in his stead. Evidence of his sporting predilections is found in the fact that on one occasion he sent a gift of partridges to Cromwell, whom he also informed that he had just "killed a great buck." On another occasion he begs Cromwell to send him "a warrant for a stag in the forest of Wyer."* In a charming pen picture Froude describes him as "the last survivor of the old martial prelates, fitter for harness than for bishop's robes, for a court of justice than a court of theology, more at home at the head of his troopers chasing cattle-stealers in the gorges of Llangollen, than hunting heretics to the stake, or chasing formulas in the arduous defiles of controversy."†

Such was the man who was now despatched to the Marches. Within a month of his appointment, or about the end of June 1534, he had already started for Ludlow.

* Letter dated Welshpool, 18 July, 1538, calendared in *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. xiii, part 1, p. 523. It is also reproduced in *Bye-Gones* for 1895-6, p. 479.

† Froude, *Hist. of England*, iii, 229. By way of contrast with the above, and as a specimen of contemporary abuse, we may quote what was written of Lee by one of Cromwell's agents in a letter addressed to Cromwell himself on Lee's promotion to a bishopric: "You have lately holpen an earthly beast, a mole, and an enemy to all godly learning into the office of his damnation—a papist, an idolator, and a fleshly priest into a bishop of Chester."

No time was lost before the abuses of the country were resolutely grappled with. Before the end of the year, there were passed as many as five Acts of Parliament, which were directed against the disorders of the Marches.* To find a parallel to this drastic legislation we have to look back to the repressive measures passed in the time of Henry IV immediately after the revolt of Glendower.

But in addition to the provisions of these parliamentary enactments, Lee was empowered to put down crime by capital punishment, a power which had not been exercised by his predecessors owing to the spiritual nature of their office as bishops. Lee, however, bishop though he was, had no scruple on this point, for he realised that "to have that country in order, punishment must be done." Nor did he allow his actions to be fettered by too strict an interpretation either of the powers vested in him or of the jurisdiction of his Council, for in complaining to Cromwell of the frequent miscarriage of justice, he asserted that "by the common law, things so far out of order will never

* These were, 26 Henry VIII, c. 4, 5, 6, 11 and 12. The most important of these was the Act concerning Councils in Wales (c. 6), which provided, *inter alia*, that all murders and felonies committed within any Lordship Marcher in Wales should be tried in the nearest English county. The preamble to this Act presents a gloomy picture of the country which Lee had to reduce into order. It recites that—

"The People of Wales, and the Marches of the same, not dreading the good and wholsom Laws and Statutes of the Realm, have of long time continued and persevered in Perpetration and Commission of divers and manifold Thefts, Murthers, Rebellions, wilfull burnings of Houses, and other scelerous Deeds, and abominable malefacts, to the high displeasure of God, Inquietation of the King's well-disposed subjects, and Disturbance of the Publick Weal, which malefacts and scelerous deeds be so rooted and fixed in the same people that they be not like to cease unless some sharp correction and punishment for Redress and Amputation of the premisses be provided, according to the Demerits of the offenders."

be redressed.”* Generally, he was given a fairly free hand, the only caution impressed upon him by Cromwell being that there should be no partiality or favouritism, that “indifferent justice must be ministered to poor and rich according to their demerits.” In the execution of his duty, Lee proved to be no respecter of persons, and after one Sessions, he reported to his chief, not without some satisfaction, we may imagine, that he hanged “four of the best blood in the county of Shropshire.” Such Draconian severity was inevitably bound to stir up against him the bitter enmity of many of the magnates of the Marches. The Earl of Worcester and other lords marchers attempted to evade his authority, ‘shire gentlemen’ disdained his inferior Court:† he was sometimes disavowed by Cromwell,” and as was pointed out in the previous article,‡ he experienced some difficulty in obtaining repayment of his disbursements in the repair of the royal castles. At one time it was even proposed to supersede him by appointing the Bishop of Hereford to the lord presidency.§ But in spite of his many difficulties and discouragements, he persevered in the great task he had undertaken, devoting practically his whole time to the work of the Council, and rarely being able to “steal home” to Lichfield. Within the area of his jurisdiction as lord president, he was continually moving about. This was not only the distinctive feature of his administration, it was also the chief secret of its success. Other Presidents, both before and after him, notably Bishop Smith, Sir Henry Sidney and

* Letter to Cromwell, 18 July, 1533, quoted p. 107, above.

† See Lee’s letter reproduced in Clive’s *Ludlow*, p. 160, where allusion is made to the “mallyce and proude of Cheshiers gentlemen, disdeyninge this inferyo^r Courte and the ordere of the same.”

‡ *Y Cymmrodor*, xii, 37-8.

§ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, xii, 986.

Lord Carbery, associated with their office a generous patronage of literature, and they aimed at making Ludlow, so far as possible, a congenial meeting place for learned men from the Universities. For such a policy Lee had neither the taste nor the necessary leisure, and his administration, as one of strenuous unrelaxing action, stands out in marked contrast to that of Presidents who lived in less troublous times.

There is reason to believe that Lee's severity was greatly exaggerated both in contemporary opinion and subsequently by popular tradition, partly because rumour always tends to magnify the unpleasant, but still more so perhaps because Lee fully realised that his Government might derive additional strength from the more submissive fear of the law which such exaggerated notions would produce. This view is suggested by a certain tone of braggadocio discernible in his correspondence and also by the theatricality of most of his punishments. "All the thieves in Wales quake for fear," he somewhat boastfully writes in the letter printed below. "If he [the thief] be taken, he playeth his pageant," he cynically adds, on another occasion. An indication of what was the popular notion then current among Welshmen concerning Lee's administration has fortunately been preserved for us in the contemporary memoranda of Ellis Griffith, a Welsh soldier stationed at Calais.* After referring to the fact that, about 1534-5, "there was much disorder within the districts of Powys, Kynlleth and Mochnant"—which were then notorious for the outlaws to whom reference will be made later, the writer proceeds thus :

"And at this time the king appointed [Rowland Lee]

* Mostyn MSS., No. 158. The extract given above is from Mr. Gwenogvryn Evans's account of the MS. in his *Report in MSS. in the Welsh Language* (1898), Intro. p. x.

Bishop of Chester as president of his council in that part of Wales, and gave him and 'his people' full authority to administer punishment to those who merited it according to their deserts, and it is said that over 5,000 men were hanged within the space of six years, among whom were certain men of the guard with the King's liveries on their backs. It was at this time that the bishop made complaint of certain laws and customs which were observed and upheld in certain lordships and sanctuaries (*noddruaiav*) in Wales, and as a consequence the sanctuaries lost their 'authority' as places of refuge both in Wales and England from this time forth, except in cases of 'chance medley' and killing in self-defence Moreover on the bishop's advice the parliament enacted at Westminster that no man within the borders of Wales should bear a dagger or bow or spear or glaive, or a weapon of any description in his hand, either to church, market, shire [-moot], hundred [-moot], pleadings, court, assembly or session, under pains of a heavy penalty and imprisonment."

Just as later historians have discredited the old statement that seventy-two thousand criminals were executed in England during the reign of Henry VIII, so we may also be reasonably certain that the estimate of five thousand persons capitally punished within six years in Wales and the Marches is likewise a very considerable exaggeration.

Several old writers,* have also ascribed to Lee the credit of having induced the King to complete the division of Wales into shires, and its incorporation with England. It is now established, however, that the reverse was the case, inasmuch as Lee protested against the Act of Union

* *E.g.*, Godwin in his *De Praesulibus*, quoted in Clive's *Ludlow*, p. 158.

of 1535, which made Wales and the Marches shire ground, and which gave them justices of the peace and gaol delivery as in England. His opposition was mainly due to his mistrust of those who would have to serve as jurors, whether on the grand or petty jury, in the trial of criminal cases. He had frequently to complain of the manner in which they abused their powers and disregarded their oaths. Forwarding to Cromwell on one occasion (17 July, 1538) a list of murders and manslaughters in Cheshire, in which no bills would have been preferred but for the intervention of the Council, he complained that "though at the late assizes many bills, well supported, were put into the 'greate enqueste' [*i.e.*, the grand jury], yet contrary to their duty they have found murders to be manslaughters and riots to be misbehaviour." On another occasion, at the Gloucestershire assizes, "one Roger Morgan of Wales"* was acquitted "against strong evidence" on a charge of forcibly carrying off a widow from a church.†

Shropshire was the only county as to which he was able to say that "the King was well served." In the other English shires within his jurisdiction, the jurors

* See *Y Cymmrodor*, xii, 48.

† "This is a vice common in Wales, and for its reformation we caused the trial to be made, but all the honest persons we had appointed to the inquest absented themselves."—Lee to Cromwell, 28 Feb., 1538. Cf. also *Stradling Correspondence*, p. 347, where reference is made to a suit brought in the Court of Wards and Liveries in 1584 against Sir Edward Stradling for seizing an heiress and her lands; also *Arch. Camb.*, V, vii, 98, where another Glamorganshire man of the time of Elizabeth is said to have looked out for "marriageable young women who were entitled to lands or portions, forcibly carried them off, and then disposed of them to the highest bidder". In a subsequent letter (16 March, 1638) Lee again refers to the Gloucestershire case thus: "When it came to the trial of the Morgans the rest of the gentlemen could not be found in the town by the

often played him false, and in spite of the pains and penalties which he inflicted on them, it was difficult to get justice "indifferently ministered". If this occurred in the English shires, it would be folly, he probably argued, to extend to Wales the criminal law of England, and futile to expect Welshmen to give verdicts in accordance with the evidence laid before them! "If one thief shall try another," he protested, "all we have begun is fore-done." The Welsh he held to be as yet unfit to enjoy the fuller privilege of having their legal institutions assimilated in every respect to those of England.* "Whether at his instance, or for other reasons, the 'shiring' of the marches seems to have been postponed for some years, for in 1539 and 1540, Lee commended petitions urging that the country was better as it was than as shire ground."† On 11 April 1540—in the last of his extant letters to Cromwell—he wrote that he had been asked to head the commission for translating Denbigh-land into shire-ground, but as his opinion had been sought, he said he thought it unwise.

Fortunately, the more enlightened opinion of some of the leading Welshmen of the day prevailed, and the administration of justice in Wales was assimilated, almost throughout, to the English system. Sir Richard Herbert, of Montgomery, deserves to be specially mentioned, not only

Sheriff, so we were fain to take such as remained, who against the evidence acquitted the Morgans. . . . Mr. Justice Porte will confess the premises to be true, as I willed him and his associate at the assizes, Mr. Montague, to cess good fines upon the gentlemen that departed of their disobedience." In the Cheshire case, referred to in the text above, Lee had the grand jury committed to prison "for their lightness."

* Letter dated 12 March 1533, calendared in *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, i, p. 454.

† Mr. James Tait in *Diet. Nat. Biog.*

for his advocacy of the more liberal policy, which was subsequently adopted, but also for the material assistance which he rendered to the authorities in repressing the lawlessness for which Mid-Wales was so notorious in the early part of the 16th century.

His great grandson, the first Lord Herbert of Cherbury, writes thus of him in his *History of Henry the Eighth*, under the date 1520 :

“In the greater part [of Wales] and particularly those [parts] in the East, West, and North Wales, being about this time administered by my great grandfather, Sir Richard Herbert. . . such justice was used as I find in our records highly commended to the King’s Council by Rowland Lee, now President of Wales.”

In his “Autobiography,”* Lord Herbert further states that Sir Richard, whom he describes as “steward” of the lordship and marches of North Wales, East Wales and Cardiganshire, “had power, in a martial law, to execute offenders,—in the using thereof he was so just that he acquired to himself a singular reputation . . . he was a great suppressor of rebels, thieves and outlaws;” and to all this, the descendant adds that “he was just and conscionable, for if a false or cruel person had that power committed to his hands, he would have raised a great fortune out of it, wherefore he left little, save what his father gave him, unto posterity.”

To Sir Richard’s influence, not improbably, is to be

* See Mr. Sidney Lee’s edition (1886), p. 10. Sir Richard Herbert died about 1640. Edward Herbert, of Montgomery, who was his eldest son by his second wife, continued his father’s good work by way of keeping in check the more lawless inhabitants of Mid-Wales. He, too, is described by his descendant as “noted to be a great enemy to the outlaws and thieves of his time, who robbed in great numbers in the mountains of Montgomeryshire, for the suppressing of whom he went both day and night to the places where they were.”

ascribed some of the reforms brought about by the Act of 1543 (34 and 35 Henry VIII, c. 26) which completed the incorporation of Wales with England. His name stands first among a number of residents "within the countryes and lordshippes marcheres lately appointed to be sheere of Montgomery" who, between 1536 and 1542, addressed a petition to the King with reference to several of the points which were subsequently dealt with by the Statute in question.* Among other things, they petitioned for an annual appointment to the shrievalty, and that complainants should be allowed to prosecute offenders and bring suits in the 'Leet' of whatever lordship they might happen to reside in—"by menes whereof shall be avoided greate corruptyion of justyce as sellying of pannels, oppreshones, extortyones, robberyes and other manifolde grievances to the unreasonable subjectyon of the said petycioneres." With a view to the "correction" of thieves and other petty offenders, they petitioned for the appointment of "Justices of Peace amongst themselves to doe and execute in everythinge as other Justyces doe in the Shieres of England." The abolition of gavelkind was also one of the reforms that they prayed for.

It will thus be seen that there were many inhabitants of Wales who were earnestly striving to secure the establishment and maintenance of law and order throughout the Principality. Though they may not have agreed with Lee as to the best constitutional reforms with a view to the future government of the country, still there can be little doubt that he was on the whole able to count on their support in his vigorous suppression of the more serious offences of the time. Indeed so successful was he in this respect, so thoroughly did he accomplish his work, that

* The petition, which is undated, is printed at length from Harleian MSS., vol. 368, in *Montgomeryshire Collections*, ii, 168-172.

before the end of his days he was able to quote Wales as a model for some of the English districts on the Eastern side of the border, notably certain parts of Gloucestershire and Cheshire, where his authority had nearly all along been defied. "I am sure [there have been] more murders and manslaughters in Cheshir and the borderes of the same within this yeare then in all Wales this yeare,"* he once wrote to Cromwell, and he challenged the unruly gentlemen of Cheshire to deny it.

Lee's strenuous life was brought to a close at the College of St. Chad, Shrewsbury, on 28 Jan. 1543. He was succeeded, both as President of the Council and as Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, by Richard Sampson, previously Bishop of Chichester. In the second year of Edward VI (1648) Sampson was superseded in the Presidency by John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, who, as Clive suggests, probably never visited Ludlow during his brief tenure of the office. The only thing worthy of remark concerning his Presidency is that he was the first layman who ever held the appointment. The Presidents who preceded him had all been Bishops, but only two out of the fourteen who succeeded him in the office were prelates. It is also significant that it was during Mary's reign that the two episcopal appointments in question were made.† During the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth, on the other hand, we find not a single Bishop presiding over the Council at Ludlow. With the Reformation, the respective spheres of Church and State came to be more clearly defined than heretofore, and the practice of appointing ecclesiastics to secular offices began to fall into desuetude.

* See the letter printed in Clive's *Ludlow*, 159-161.

† Similarly, the Lord Chancellors during Mary's reign were also ecclesiastics.

There was also a significance about the selection of Dudley's successor, namely William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke (of the 2nd creation) who received his appointment, 8 April 1550. He was the first Welshman on whom the office was conferred. By this time the pacification of the Marches had been well-nigh accomplished. What was now most needed was to attract Welshmen into the service of the State, and to bring home to them the knowledge that there were larger openings for them in the public life of England. The honours showered on Herbert, and his appointment as Lord President, were well calculated to further this policy. He held the office till the death of Edward VI, whereupon Mary reverted to the older practice of conferring the Presidency on a Bishop, her choice falling on Nicholas Heath,* afterwards Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor. Herbert was, however, reappointed on Heath's resignation in 1556, this being the only instance of a re-appointment to the Presidency for a second term of office. Towards the end of the summer of 1558, the Queen seems to have had occasion to write to the Earl (who was spending his time at Wilton instead of at Ludlow) remonstrating with him for his absenteeism, and calling his attention to the fact that the Marches were in some disorder "for want of a President residing there". To this, the Earl replied, some time in August, expressing his readiness to resign the Presidency, but declining to recommend a successor.†

Once more the Queen chose a Bishop, and on 29 October a letter was sent to Gilbert Bourne, Bishop of Bath and Wells, informing him of his appointment to the office, and

* Heath's appointment was, perhaps, attributable to the fact that he was Bishop of Worcester, and his See accordingly included a portion of the Marches.

† *Cal. of State Papers, Dom.*, 1547-1580, p. 106.

two days later, "Instructions" were issued to him and his Council.* Seventeen days later Mary died, and though Bourne may have nominally continued President for a little longer, he, as a Catholic, must have regarded his tenure of it extremely insecure from the moment of Mary's death. Elizabeth does not, however, seem to have made a fresh appointment till the beginning of the new year, probably February 1559,† when the Presidency was conferred on John, Lord Williams of Thame,‡ as a reward for his considerate treatment of the Queen when in his custody. As he was at the time in indifferent health, the Queen also appointed Sir Hugh Paulet|| as vice-president. So serious a turn did Lord Williams's illness assume that he was not expected to recover, and Lord Paget, on 17 March, wrote to Cecil soliciting the reversion of the office.§ His indecent haste in the matter did him no good. Williams

* *Cal. of State Papers, Dom.*, 1547-1580, pp. 108-9. Bourne's appointment was perhaps due to the fact that he was a native of Worcester (Clive, p. 202).

† *Ibid.*, p. 123, where Elizabeth's letter to Bourne, revoking his appointment, is calendared under Feb. (?) 1559.

‡ Williams (who belonged to the Glamorgan family of that name, one member of which married a sister of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, while from another member Oliver Cromwell was descended) was the second son of Sir John Williams, knight, by Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of Richard More of Burghfield, Oxon, which place Williams acquired by his marriage. The son was amongst the foremost in supporting Queen Mary on the death of Edward VI, for which in April 1553, he was raised to the peerage with the title Lord Williams of Thame. He is best known to history as sharing with Sir Henry Bedingfield the keepership of the Princess Elizabeth, whom he entertained with much pomp at his house at Rycote, while Bedingfield meted a sterner treatment to the Princess.

|| Sir Hugh Paulet, who was a member of the Somersetshire family of that name, was military commander and governor of Jersey from 1550 till his death in or about 1572. He was the father of Sir Amias Paulet, the keeper of Mary Queen of Scots.

§ *Cal. of State Papers, Dom.*, 126.

got better, and on 18 June was able to write to the vice-president that he would meet him and the Council at Worcester. In a letter written to Cecil a week later, Paulet cheerfully resigns his vice-presidency, as he was anxious to return to his duties in Jersey, whence he had been withdrawn by his Welsh appointment.* A communication from Paulet, to the Privy Council, dated 1st of October, discloses the fact that he continued in office for some time longer—probably on account of a recurrence of Williams's illness, for he died on 14 October 1559.

The Presidency thus became once more vacant. Six appointments to the office had been made during the ten years from 1549 to 1559. These rapid changes afforded little opportunity for each successive President to gain any very intimate knowledge of Wales or to undertake any important reforms. It is, therefore, not surprising that none of Rowland Lee's immediate successors won themselves a reputation as Welsh administrators. Lord Williams's successor—Sir Henry Sidney—was, however, destined to hold the office for a longer period than any other President either before or after his time. His tenure of it extended from the latter end of 1559, or possibly the commencement of 1560, till his death at Ludlow on 5 May 1586. His appointment was, in the first instance, due to the fact that Cecil wanted to secure his absence, for the time being, from Court, where his staunch support of the Earl of Leicester (who then aspired for the Queen's hand) clashed with Cecil's own views as to the most suitable alliance for Elizabeth. But as Sidney found the duties at Ludlow comparatively light, he was still able to spend at Court more time than suited Cecil's taste. In April 1562 he was therefore sent on a mission to France,

* *Cal. of State Papers, Dom.*, p. 132.

and this was followed by a mission to Scotland. To provide for his absence from Ludlow, the Queen, on 15 May 1562, appointed William Gerard (of whom more hereafter) to be vice-president of the Welsh Council. In October 1565 Sidney was appointed lord deputy of Ireland, in which country he remained for the next two years. When he returned (in Oct. 1567) his health was much shattered, and to his chagrin he received but a cold reception at Court, whereupon he retired to his home at Penshurst. It was then generally expected that he would be deprived of the Welsh Presidency, to which he had hitherto not been able to pay much personal attention. In a few months' time, however, he was once more in favour. In September 1568 he again returned to his charge in Ireland, remaining there this time till the end of March 1571.

During his absence on this occasion the vice-presidency was held by Sir Hugh Cholmondeley,* or Cholmley, the then head of the Cheshire family of that name. During the next four and a half years—from March 1571 till his reappointment to Ireland in August 1575—Sidney devoted a considerable portion of his time to the duties in the Welsh Marches. Things had not gone all right in his absence. In 1570 an inquiry seems to have been instituted on behalf of the Privy Council into the conduct of the business of the Court;† Mr. Townsend “prepared some notes touching sundry things to be reformed in Wales and added to Her Majesty’s instructions given to her Council there”;‡ a new set of orders was drawn up by the Privy

* See Clive’s *Ludlow*, p. 210. Letters addressed to Sir Hugh as vice-president are calendared under 14 May 1569, in *Hist. MSS. Com., App. to 8th Report*, p. 374, and under 31 May 1571, in *Cal. of State Papers, Dom.*, 1547-1580, p. 414. Sir Hugh, who died in 1597, was five times Sheriff of Cheshire, and also Sheriff of Flintshire in 1582-3.

† See *State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. 75, Nos. 80-3.

‡ The Lord President’s Instructions were being continually added

Council "for direction and reformation of the Queen's Court in the Marches"; and among other minor points, better service was required from the Queen's Attorney (Thomas Atkyns), who was henceforth to be a member of the Council. Later on some complaints were made against Sidney's nominations for the shrievalty in Wales.* On 19th and 20th November 1572 he writes to Lord Burleigh and the Council respectively, exonerating himself from the unjust imputations made on him as to his return of persons as sheriffs, and justifying the course he had pursued in the matter. Sidney's correspondence at this time furnishes a good reason for believing that so long as he remained in England, he did not neglect Welsh affairs.† In August 1575 he was, however, again reappointed lord deputy of Ireland, and was consequently over in that country till Sept. 1578, when he finally relinquished his Irish charge, and returned to England much shattered in health. Sir Andrew Corbet appears to have acted as vice-president during part of this time, and he was probably the holder of the office whom Gerard described in 1576 as "a verie sicklie man not able to take the toyle of y^a service."‡ Corbett at all events died on 16 August 1578.

to, varied, or otherwise amended about this time. Fresh instructions were issued to Sidney in June 1574 (Clive's *Ludlow*, 309-350, where they are printed at length), and again in June 1576 (*Cal. of State Pap.*, 1547-1580, p. 525), and additions to these were made in July 1577 (Clive, p. 350).

* As a specimen of these complaints, see letter of 2 Dec. 1572 from Walter, Earl of Essex, to Lord Burleigh, objecting to some of the Welsh Sheriffs-elect and recommending friends of his own for the office in Carmarthenshire.

† Three letters written by him from Ludlow, in the autumn of 1574, to Sir Edward Stradling, are published in the *Stradling Correspondence*, which also contains six other letters addressed by him to the same correspondent in 1580-84 (pp. 11-22).

‡ *Y Cymmrodor*, xii, 55.

It was probably to succeed Corbett that Whitgift (who became Bishop of Worcester in 1577) was appointed to the vice-presidency.* This selection of a bishop, though only to the post of deputy, may have been thought desirable so as to further the spread of Protestantism in Wales, which for the most part still remained a stronghold of Præ-Reformation belief and practices. This was certainly a work on which Elizabeth's heart was firmly set, for when Sidney happened to absent himself from Ludlow in 1580, the Queen ordered him to return to his post, and shortly afterwards censured him for his laxity in carrying out her instructions "for the reformation of the recusants and obstinate persons in religion within Wales". As to his few remaining years, he seems to have spent a considerable portion at Ludlow, where he busied himself with repairing the Castle and in bestowing his patronage on men of letters. There were reforms in legal procedure and in the details of practice still to be effected, and to this end some of the more prominent members of the Council, including William Gerard and Dr. David Lewis,† were

* "He held the office for two years and a half, and performed multifarious administrative duties with beneficial energy and thoroughness" (*Dict. of Nat. Biog.*) But his greatest service to Wales was the encouragement he gave Bishop Morgan to proceed with his translation of the Bible into Welsh (see Dedication to Welsh Bible, 1588).

† As to Dr. Lewis, see a short article by the present writer in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, another volume of which work has a succinct account of Gerard (though otherwise stated in *Y Cymmrodor*, xii, 12) by Mr. J. M. Rigg. Lewis, who was a native of Abergavenny, was appointed judge of the High Court of Admiralty in 1558, which office he exchanged in 1575 for that of joint commissioner of the Admiralty with another Welshman, Sir John Herbert. Lewis is described as an active judge, and as he was much occupied in connection with the maritime difficulties of the Elizabethan period, it was hardly possible that he found time to pay much close attention to the work of the Welsh Council. On the other hand, Gerard was, in one way or other, closely associated with the administration of justice in

requested to address themselves, and to prepare special memoranda for the information of the Secretary of State. But most of the rougher work of extirpating outlaws and breaking up organised bands of robbers had been accomplished by his predecessor, Lee.* So that in his last days, Sidney, when reviewing his administrative connection with Wales, was able to say with pride that "a better people to govern than the Welsh Europe holdeth not." The conciliatory policy of equal treatment for Welshmen and Englishmen alike had also succeeded beyond all expectation. There was still an occasional black spot in the country, where the last remnants of outlaw and robber gangs maintained a precarious existence,

Wales and the Marches for upwards of 20 years. He became a member of the Council about 1553, and, as above mentioned, was appointed vice-president in 1562. He also served as recorder of Chester from 1555 to 1572 (during part of which time he was also M.P. for the borough), and was judge of the Great Sessions for the counties of Brecknock, Glamorgan and Radnor from 9 Sept. 1559 till his death, though the duties of the office were in his later years discharged by deputy. On 23 April 1576, he was appointed lord chancellor of Ireland, and Sir Henry Sidney, who then held both the presidency of the Welsh Council and the vice-royalty of Ireland, expressed thereat the greatest satisfaction. "I have had long experience of him," he wrote to the Council, "having had his assistance in Wales now sixteen years, and know him to be very honest and diligent and of great dexterity and readiness in a Court of that nature" (*Sydney Papers*, pp. 95-6). At least two of Gerard's children inter-married with members of Welsh families. Gerard's daughter Sidney became the wife of Sir John Wynn of Gwydir, while his eldest son married a daughter of William Almer of Pant Iocyn, Denbighshire.

Gerard died at Chester on 1 May 1581, while on a visit to this country from Ireland.

* In the Instructions given to the President of the North in 1574, the following article (No. 44) is significant: "As mildness emboldens the evil, speedy severity is to be used against notable offenders, that the report thereof may work by force what will not be obtained by gentleness, good quiet having ensued by this means in Wales" (*Cat. of State Pap., Dom. Addenda, 1566-1579, p. 466*).

nevertheless there was, generally, security for both person and property, for the arm of the law had become strong enough to preserve peace and protect the weak. Writing in 1594, in his *Dialogue of the Government of Wales*, George Owen, of Henllys, gave striking testimony to the thorough change which Wales had undergone, and which in great part he attributed to the beneficial results of the legislation of Henry VIII. "Surely these lawes," said he, "have brought Wales to great civilitie from yt evill gouern^t that was here in ould time: for it is as safe travailing for a stranger here in Wales as in any part of Christendome, whereas in old time it is said robberis and murthers were very common."

For the many reforms which were still necessary so as to render more effective the machinery of government the reports or "discourses" specially prepared for the Secretary of State by Gerard and Lewis, and printed in full for the first time in this number, furnish us very detailed information. Fortunately for the historian, the account which they give us of the practical working of the Court of the Marches and of other matters relating to the administration of justice in Wales, are by no means our only sources of information in those subjects. They describe things from the official standpoint, viewing them as they did from the inside. The non-official account is given us, still more fully and with even greater wealth of detail, by George Owen in his "Dialogue" and his "Treatise on the Lords Marchers," both which we understand will very shortly be issued in the third part of *Owen's Pembrokeshire*. We trust that the almost simultaneous publication of these several documents may greatly stimulate further research-work in connection with the history of the Court of the Marches and the constitutional relations between Wales and England generally.

APPENDIX A.

BISHOP ROWLAND LEE'S LETTER. 1536.¹

My lord of Chester² and other of the Counsaile
in the m'ches of the quyetnes wrought there
ffrom Outlawes and theves.³

To the right wo'shipful master Thomas Crum-
well Chief Secretary unto the kinges highnes
thus be yoven.⁴

After my moste hartly recommendacons thies shalbe
taduertise you that we have receaved from you the two
outlawes named Daudid lloide or place,⁵ and John ap
Richard hockulton⁶ with Richard ap Howell alias Sommer
the murderer at munmouth ffor the which we hartely
thanke you. And the sayde two outlawes we haue sent
to their triall according to Justice which to morowe they
shall Receyve (god pardoñ their sowles) And ffurther
within two Dayes after the Receyving of the saide theves,

¹ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, 1536, Vol. x, No. 130.

² As to the Bishops of Coventry and Lichfield being colloquially described as Bishops of Chester, see note p. 100 above.

³ This description of the document is an endorsement in a later hand. The direction or address which follows, is an original endorsement written the same time as the letter itself.

⁴ The participial form "yoven" or "3oven", for the modern "given", was chiefly confined to the Midland and Northern dialects. Along with such similar forms as *yaf*, *yere*, *yeren* (which occur in Chaucer), it disappeared from literary English about 1500; so the use of it here is a decidedly late instance.

⁵ "O'r Plás"—of the *Plás*, a place-name which in Welsh very generally corresponds to the English *Manor House*.

⁶ Lewis Dwnn (*Heraldic Visit.*, i, 325) mentions that a daughter of William Longford (or, more correctly, Langford), of Alington and Ruthin, was married to one Walter Hockleton, who was eighth in descent from "Walter de Hockleton, 34 Henry III". It is significant that at least two of the outlaws mentioned in this letter, Hockleton and Durant, bore English names. The alias Sommer or Summer is also English.

were brought to vs iiij other Outlawes as greate or greater then the forsaide Daudid and John were, and twoo of the ffirft of them had byñ outlawed thies xvj yeres. Wherof iij were on Liffe,¹ and ooñe slayne brought in a sacke trussed vppon a horse, whom we haue cawsed to be hanged vppon the galowes here for a signe wolde god ye had seen the ffashion therof, hit chaunced the same day to be markett Daye here, By Reason wherof, iij^c people² ffolowed to see the saide cariage of the saide thief in the sacke, the maner wherof had not been seen heretofore. What shall we say ffarther. All the theves in Wales qwake ffor ffearre, and att this day we Doo assure you ther is but oone thief of name of the sorte of outlawes whoose name is Hugh Durannt trustyng to haue him shortely. Soo that nowe ye may Boldely affirme that Wales is Redacte³ to that state that oone thief taketh an other, and oone Cowe kepith an other⁴ ffor the moste parte as Lewes my servaunt at his Retorne shall more at Lardge info'me you. The takers of thies outlawes were my Lorde of Riche monndes⁵ tenantes off Kevilioke and Arustley moste parte

¹ "Alive", which is only a shortened form of "on life", first softened into "on live", a form which was still current in the 17th century.

² iij=300.

³ Reduced.

⁴ This appears to have been a favourite expression of Lee's. He uses it in another letter to Cromwell, quoted in *Y Cymmrodor*, xii, p. 39. Another of his characteristic expressions was that "he wold macke the whyte sheep keep the blacke" (MS. Chronicle quoted in Owen and Blakeway's *Hist. of Shrewsbury*, i, 340).

⁵ Early in his reign Henry VIII acquired the Montgomeryshire lordships of Cyfelliog and Arwystli by purchase. The text suggests that he subsequently granted them to Henry Fitzroy (his illegitimate son by Elizabeth Blount, a lady in waiting on Queen Catherine), whom, on 18 June 1525, he created Duke of Richmond. Some six months after this letter was written, Fitzroy died, being then only 20 years of age. Sir Richard Herbert (as to whom see p. 113 above) was at this time steward of the Crown lordships in Montgomeryshire, and the capture of these outlaws was most probably due to his activity or influence. The district, however, long remained a stronghold of robbers and outlaws: in the following summer (June 1536) Lee heard that "a certen cluster or company of theives and murderers" were gathered aboute Arwystli (*Y Cymmrodor*, xii, 41-2). More than half a century later, George Owen in his "Dialogue on the Government of Wales", written in 1594, refers to the evil repute of the district in his own time (Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, iii, 92-3). See also pp. 110, 114 above.

ffor ffeare and mony,¹ and parte ffor to haue thankes, and partely to haue some of their kynredd Discharged. The names of the sayde Outlawes Doo ensue. Besechyng you that the Kynges Highnes may be aduertised hereof. And thus the holy Trinitie preserve you. ffrom Ludlowe the xixth Daye of January²

Your most Bownden,
ROLAND CO. ET LICE'.³

At yo' Commaundment,
T. ENGLEFIELD.⁴

Dikin ap Hoⁿ dio bagh
slyayne Howell ap Hoⁿ dio bagh alias Hoⁿ Banno'
Howell ap Daid vayne
John Dee Trydio alias John ap Meredith.⁵

¹ "and mony" put in above the line.

² That is, January 1535-6. As to the evidence for fixing this as the date of the year see *Y Cymmrodor*, xii, 38-9.

³ Coventry and Lichfield.

⁴ Two persons of this name, father and son, were associated with the Council of the Marches, and are wrongly identified in *Y Cymm. loc. cit.* Sir Thomas Englefield, the elder, is mentioned in Powel's *Hist. of Wales* (ed. 1584, p. 392) as a member of Prince Arthur's Council, in 1502, during Bishop Smith's presidency. He also held the offices of Justice of Chester (he appears to have been previously vice-justice of Chester, see Taylor's *Historic Notices of Flint*, 105) and speaker of the House of Commons, and died in 1513. On the other hand, it was his son, Sir Thomas the younger, who was Bishop Lee's right hand man, and the signatory to this letter. He became one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas, and died at Bridgnorth on 28 Sept. 1537. They were of Englefield in Berkshire, but the manor and estate, which had been in the family for upwards of 780 years, was seized by the Crown about 1586, on the attainder of the younger Sir Thomas's heir and successor, Sir Francis Englefield, who died some ten years later a Catholic exile at Valladolid.

⁵ In the letter, these names are written opposite the signatures of Lee and Englefield, in a somewhat smaller hand. What the name "Trydio" stands for I am unable to say.

APPENDIX B.

 DR. DAVID LEWIS'S LETTER, 1576.¹

3 Januar. 1575.²ffrom M^r D. LewisTowching the abuses of Wales.³

To the right hon^rable M^r ffraunces Walsingham
 one of the principall secretaries etc. of the
 privey counsaile to her Ma^{tie}.⁴

After my humble comendacōns vnto yo^r hon^r percevinge
 by the laste conference I had wth you howe carefull ye were
 for the reformatiō of the dysorders in Wales and for a
 better gouernment there, a very good argument of a good
 zeale to the publike weale. I thought my selfe in dewtye
 bownde beinge borne there⁵ to geve you all the lighte I
 coulde bothe to knowe the causes of the Dysorders and
 also the remedies for the same, as nighe as I can discerne
 and judge, the w^{ch} I have sett furthe in a fewe articles sent
 herewth, w^{ch} I pray yo^r hono^r to take in good parte, and
 if in some thinges there I maye seme to sharpe or severe,
 I say I followe the example of the good Phesiōn, who in a
 sharpe disease dothe geve a sharpe medyson. My countrey
 is so farre out of order at this time as dothe requyre seuere
 remedye and in euerye coemmonwealthe seuerytye vsed wth
 indifferencye⁶ of iustice to all men is more comended then
 lenytye. And Josephe is comended for a wise and prudent
 gouerno^r because he gouerned well the egiptians wth
 seuerytye, and in my countrey this medyson hathe ben
 tryed in busshope *Rowlandes and Mr. Egelfeldes* time

¹ *State Papers, Domestic Series, Elizabeth*, Vol. 107. No. 4.² 1575-6.³ This is an endorsement, in a different hand.⁴ This is also written *in dorso*, but by Lewis himself.⁵ Lewis was born at Abergavenny, his father being Vicar of Abergavenny and Llantilio Pertholey. See p. 122 above.⁶ Impartiality.

and since in that litle time that Sr *Hughe Powlett* was there, and seinge experyence is counted the beste meystres, in my opynion, she is to be followed. *Solon* the wyse and ancyeut lawier, made lawes to the grecians and amonge others these, viz., that euerye person once in the yere shoulde signifye to the Magistrates his substance. That euery man shoulde shewe by what acte or other meanes he lyved and that all ydle persons shoulde be banished out of the coemmonwealthe surely the ij laste may very well be put in vre² in my countreye, where of late daies they be geven to muche more ydlenes then they were xxth or xxxth yeres agon. *Licurgus* made certen lawes for the coemmonwelthe of *Sparta* and intending a voiage to *Creta* bownde the citezens wth an othe to observe and kepe those lawes vntill he cam ageine, and beinge desyrous the saide lawes shoulde contynewe for euer, he was content to ende his lyfe in exile at creta and willed his body after his death to be caste to the sea that it should not be sent to *Sparta* to geve occaçon thereby to the citezons to thincke them selves discharged of their othes. If I might haue some good lawes or orders made for a better goverment in my countreye and they lyved to observe them wth effecte, I coulde be content to banyshe my selfe from thence duringe my lyfe. But what so euer I have written I referr all to yo^r better Judgment, and yet one thinge more is to be remembered and that ys the late inordinate and vnlawful assembye in glamorgan shere³ and the excessyve number

¹ See p. 118 above. The only evidence I have been able to discover of Sir Hugh Paulet's severity, during his very brief tenure of the office of vice-president, is that, on 1 October 1559, he memorialised the Privy Council for "certain things seeming meet and expedient for the good order of Wales," forwarding at the same time an order adopted by the Council of the Marches in cases of misdemeanours. (*Calendar of State Papers, Dom.*, 1547-1580, p. 140.)

² Use, cf. enure.

³ I have been unable to discover any particulars of the special "assembly" referred to. But fights between different families were notoriously common in Glamorgan during the reign of Elizabeth. Thus, in June 1576, only a few months after this was written, there was a veritable battle, fought with swords, in the streets of Cowbridge between the Bassets of Beauprè and the Turbervilles of Penline (see *Stradling Correspondence*, pp. 15-17, and *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 5th ser., vii, 81-104, where numerous other instances are also given). As to the number of retainers, see *Y Cymmrodor*, xii,

of retayners there, leste the same brede a worse example ; yf some ponishment do not ensue. And so beinge bolde to trowble yo' hono' more then reason woulde, I besече god to *preserve* you in health and *prosperitye*. ffrom the Arches in london this 3 of January/ 1575.

Yo' hono^r most bownden to comawnde,

DA. LEWES.

APPENDIX C.

DR. DAVID LEWIS'S DISCOURSE.¹

information of ye disorders of wales. 1575.²

- D. 1. The greate dysorders in wales speciallye in sowthwales haue growen muche of late daies, by retayners of gentlemen whome they muste after the maner of the countrey bere out in all actions be they neuer so badd./
- D. 2. They haue also foster brothers loyteringe & ydle kinsmen,³ & others hangers on, that Do nothinge ells, but playe

60-1. To this may be added Lord Herbert of Cherbury's statement (*Autobiography*, ed. Lee, p. 7) that his "grandfather's power was so great in the country that divers ancestors of the better families now in Montgomeryshire were his servants and raised by him. He delighted also much in hospitality ; as having a very long table twice covered every meal with the best meats that could be gotten, and a very great family." Even Lord Herbert himself, as Mr. Sidney Lee observes, "never extricated his mind from a patriarchal belief in the right of every injured man to take personal vengeance, with the aid of his family, on his enemies and their families" (*op. cit.*, 312).

¹ *State Papers, Domestic Series, Eliz.*, vol. 107, No. 4¹.

² This is the indorsement on the back of the document, and is written in a different hand. In the margin, D = Disorder, and R = Remedy.

³ Fosterage was originally "one of the several means used under the tribal system for the purpose of tying strangers as tightly as possible to the tribe," and was in fact the link between tribesmen and non-tribesmen. See Seebohm's *Tribal System in Wales*, 127-8, and cf. Willis Bund's *Celtic Church in Wales*, 65-7. Sir John Wynn's *History of the Gwydir Family* contains many facts that throw a valuable light

at cardes & Dyce¹ and pycke & steale & kyll or hurte any man when they will have them and yet they them selves will washe their handes thereof when the yll facte ys Don./

Thes ydle loyterers when they have offended wilbe shifted of to some frendes of theirs in an other quarter, so as they will not be founde to be ponished when time shall require, and in the meane while the gentlemen will practize an agrement wth the partyes greved and then because the loyterers have nothings of their owne, the gentlemen must helpe them to a *Comortha*² to satisfye the parties dampnified./

D. 2.

Men of no substance nor of credyte made sheriffes and Justicers of the peace³ wth moste lyve be pollinge & pyllynge.⁴/

D. 3.

The auctoritye of the counsaile there is not regarded as it hathe ben for neither sheriffe, Justice of the peace, Maior, baylye or officer of any towne corporate, will so carefully apprehende or take any such persons as hathe any frende of any accompte, althoughe their faltes be neuer so grevous and apparent, yea thoughe he hathe the

D. 4.

on the effects of this custom, which continued in use until the middle of the last century, Thomas Pennant the historian being put out to nurse at a neighbouring farm-house (*Tours in Wales*, ed. Rhys, i, pp. xxi-xxii). See also on the subject Dr. Birkbeck Nevins's *Picture of Wales during the Tudor Period*, pp. 15-18; 22-26. The number of 'idle kinsmen' was considerably swelled by the illegitimate offspring of the country gentry at that time. Thus the head of the great Glamorgan family of Stradlings, in the first half of the 16th century was described as the eldest of some dozen brothers, "most of them bastards, who had no living but by extortion and pilling of the King's subjects" (*Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, v, 140, vi, 300).

¹ "An Acte for . . . debarringe of unlawful games" (33 Henry VIII, c. 9), prohibited *inter alia* the playing of tennis, dice, cards and bowls out of Christmas. Cf. Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, iii, 60. Idle life and "excesse in gaminge" were mentioned by George Owen in his *Description of Wales* as characteristic of Radnorshire people. *The Golden Grove* (1600), by William Vaughan, throws much light on the manners and diversions of the people of Wales at a slightly later period.

² For very full notes on *Cymortha*, see *Y Cymmrodor*, xii, 43-47, and Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, iii, 22.

³ This "disorder," so far as it concerned justices of the peace, is more fully dealt with by George Owen in his "Dialogue" (*Owen's Pembrokeshire*, iii, 54).

⁴ Extortion and robbery, cf. "extortion and pilling," quoted at the end of the note on *Fosterage*, given above.

saide counsayles *lettres* to that ende¹; but will playe bo pype,² seest me, & seest me not, and this haue growen by impunytye whereof Do proceade all manner of Disorders./

Re The remedye is to ponishe the gentlemen for their retayninge./

R. To let the father answer for his sonne, the M^r for his man yf he be not furth comynge to answer for the Disorder & so eache other for his brother or any other that Dothe hange vpon him for ought Don in his quarell or that maye be thought to be don by his assent or will./

R. Lykwyse the sherife, Justices of the peace, maior, baylye or any other officer to whome the saide counsaile shall dyrecte their *lettres* for the apprehençon of any person, yf they shalbe fownde to have wyncked & not to haue don their offices carefully and syncerelye, are to be kepte in prison vntill those persons be apprehended and brought in, to be ponished accordinge to their desertes./

R. Contemptes and dysorders muste be seuerelye ponished & the better the man offender, the greter thoffence, & the ponishment ought to be the more, w^{ch} muste be rather in bodye by imprisonment, then in purse, leste the country by *Comortha* bere that payne more then the offender./

R. The gatherings called *Comorthas* must be vtterly forbydden, excepte in cases permitted, viz. for myschances of fyre or lyke./

R. Maisterles men, loyterers, and ydle persons woulde be bownde to their good behavyors bothe in the townes and in the country whereof there is greate plentye in wales, who be muche borne wth all in that countrye & of all men to be reformed or Dryven awaye./

R. That the counsaile may imploye them selves to se the country well ordered and gwyded in good obedyence rather then to here pleas for landes & other thinges w^{ch} might receve ende by the course of the coemmon lawes wth more spede & lesse charge then there./

R. Small matters to be refered to some one of the country beyng of best credyte to be ended./

¹ Sir Henry Sidney deamed it necessary to send a private letter to Sir Ed. Stradling Sheriff of Glamorgan, urging him "to be the more earnest for thapprehencion of certen persons" specified in a writ addressed to the Sheriff by order of the Court (*Stradling Correspondence*, p. 11).

² The nursery game of "Bo-peep!"

The Justicers of the peace in euerye of the xij shires of Wales to be chosen of the beste disposed men to Justice & godlyness and the number to be abridged to viij accordinge to the ordynances of wales.¹/

R.

Suche as professe the lawes of the Realme and be of that counsaile speciallye those that shoulde be contynewally resydent there, shoulde not be in fee wth any gentlemen w^{thin} the lymittes of their comission² as for the most parte they haue ben and (as I thincke) be at these dayes./

R.

The vycpresydent or the Justice & ij others for the better credyte of the place & knowledge of the matters happenynge shoulde be alwayes resydent in counsaile and not one to tarye a sevenight or fortnight & then to departe, levinge an other for so lytle time, who is clene ignorant of the accydentis & procedynge therein./

R.

This in effect contained in the dis-[course] of Townsends.³

¹ By the 34 and 35 Henry VIII, c. 25, 5, 58, it was enacted that there should not be more than eight Justices of the Peace in any shire in Wales, but the commission for each shire was also to include, as ex-officio justices, the President of the Welsh Council, the Judges of the Great Sessions in their respective Circuits, and the king's attorney and solicitor attached, not to the circuit, but to the Council of the Marches. The text shows that this restriction as to number was not however adhered to, and George Owen's list of Pembrokeshire justices in 1603 contains 19 justices beyond the ex-officio members. The statutory restriction was repealed by 5 William and Mary, c. 4.

² Until the abolition of the Welsh judicature in 1830, Judges of the Welsh Sessions were at liberty to practise as counsel in Westminster Hall, and might so be, and naturally often were, "in fee with gentlemen within the limits of their commission" in Wales.

³ This marginal note is written in a later hand. The Townsend referred to was Henry, 5th son of Sir Robert Townsend, Chief Justice of Chester (*Y Cymmrodor*, xii, 31, 50; Dineley's *Beaufort Progress*, 58-60). The notice of him in Clive's *Ludlow*, p. 263, is inaccurate. He was appointed 2nd judge of the Chester Circuit on 15 Sept. 1576, was M.P. for Ludlow in 1614, and died in 1621. He was settled at Cound, Salop. Hayward Townsend, author of the *Historical Collections*, was his son.

APPENDIX D.

GERARD'S LETTER, 1576.¹

1575.

From m^r Wiſſm Ger
rard dated the 20
of Januarye.²/

To the righte hono^rable ffrances Walsingham
one of the Quenes Ma^{tes} principall Secre-
taries and of her highenes moste honorable
privey Counsell.³/

In the accomplishment of mye promis I have sent to
yo^r hono^r enclosed⁴ suche knowledge of wales & this Coun-
sell as these xxijth yeres experience hathe taught me./

My plat⁵ is to shewe howe necessarie yt was to estab-
lish this Counsell and howe nedeful yt is to continue the
same in counteñance and creditte./

I have added the maner and order the Counsell vsed to
bring wales to the obedience of the Lawes of Englande
and the benefyt succedinge and wth all noted o^r digression
at this daie from that kind of travell and thoccasions and
the great chardge & impoverishem^t w^{ch} vniuersally the
subiecte of that Contrie receivethe thereby and for remedie
have sette downe thorde^r I tould yo^r hono^r were onste⁶
devised, consented vnto by all this Counsell and allowed
by the Counsell above./

The sondrie Actes of Parliam^t in the tyme of H. the
4th and vntill the xxth of H. theighte, doe soe plainlie
painte owte their Walshe disposiçon in those tymes, that

¹ *State Papers, Domestic Eliz.*, vol. 107, No. 21.

² This is an endorsement in a different hand. The date of the
letter is January 1575-6.

³ This is Gerard's own endorsement.

⁴ The enclosure was the Discourse printed below as Appendix E.

⁵ Plot or Plan. ⁶ Once.

needful I thought yt to remember¹ theym & meeter I thought it to abreviate theym then, to leave yo^r hono^r to the book at lardge, wth occasioneth the lenghe of mye overtidious volume.² Nevertheles I have in fewe lynes abreviated the some thereof leavinge yow to peruse thoth^r when convenient lease^r maie serve you, wthout offence to weightier causes./

All that myne opinion of Wales of this Counsell & the reforme conteigned in those enclosed Notes I shall not mislike be made knowen to whom yo^r hono^r shall think meete. Thother several Notes I humblie besek yo^r hono^r maie be to yo^r self, vntil I shall by speeche open to you suche further declaracoⁿ of my meaning as I have not thought good to comitt to *lettres*. The maner howe the same wthowt blame to my self or suspicoⁿ that I am the Aucto^r maie be putte in execucoⁿ, vpon conference wth yo^r hono^r will easelie be devised./

I will affirme yt yo^r hono^r shall deserve thank of her highenes and praier of the Contrie to spend some travell therein, but there be diuerse thinges needfull to be provided for before thorder may be made knowen./

Neuertheles in the meane tyme I have saied openlye to some of myne associates that some of good callinge, at mye beinge above delt wth me aswell touchinge the great heapes of causles sutes, that were dailie broughte before vs, by the pore clamorous sorte of the people of Wales to their vtter ymperishmt, as alsoe the greate fynes taxed and the small benefite the Prince reaped thereby, I saied those whoe soe reasoned wth me, hadd as good knowledg of o^r procedinges as o^r selves, and saied plainelie I was soe harde layed vnto, that excepte I should speake vnruthe, I was not able taunswer the same, and yett I saied I promised I woulde yelde myne opinion of the necessitie of that Counsell, and shewe what order hadd bene devised./

And for the verifyinge hereof and to make a furste entraunce I have devised a *lettre* as from yo^r hono^r to me, wth enclosed I send (if yo^r hono^r think good) to be written uppe by yo^r Secretarie and sent to me by this berrer./

¹ The word "abreviate" was first written and then struck out.

² The "volume" means the Discourse printed below as Appendix E., while the "abreviated" document forms Appendix F.

The sighte therof I knowe will not onelie verefye what I saied howe I was delte wth but also procure some to subscribe thorder, I have sent to yo^r as necessarie to be putt in execucon, not knowinge the contrarie, but yo^r hono^r shall receave theym as order of their devise whoe otherwise woulde vse them as they did the former./

At mye cominge uppe I shall wth in twoe houres troublinge yo^r hono^r fynishe what in these causes I have further to saie./

I humblie besek yo^r hono^r to have me in remembrance y^t if annie parte of the allowaunce appointed to mye lorde deputie¹ bee cutte of y^t I maie serve in Englande, for then cannot his L. yeelde me the promised entertaingem^t wth occasioned me to yelde him mye worde that if I were appointed I would goe serve there, but if there bee noe alteracon of that allowance, then as I toulde yo^r hono^r what soever shall followe I will not breake the worde I have geven. And because thund^rstandinge of the liklihoade herof woulde greatlie please^r me to settle some thinges in the Contrie before mye cominge uppe. I shall humblie beseake yo^r hono^r by this berrer to lett me vnd^rstande what yo^r hono^r supposethe will be the sequele./

I humblye thank yo^r hono^r for the favo^r I founde wth yo^r hono^r wth anie service I canne as farre as mye pore habitie shall stretch. I ame and shall remaine at yo^r comaundment./

This berrer (to whome I beseak yo^r hono^r geve the hearinge) will tell you² of the greate avauntes³ wth that willfull exclamator Torperley geveth the owte of his tryumphe againste⁴ me but I make no accompte therof well know-

¹ In August 1575 Sir Henry Sidney, though continuing Lord President of Wales, was re-appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, and the text here seems to suggest that he then secured a promise from Gerard that he would accept office under him in Ireland. Some rumour of a proposal to reduce Sidney's allowance having reached Gerard, he feared lest he too should suffer, and was consequently wishing for promotion in England. Some three months later, on 23 April 1576—that is, probably, after he had gone up to London to see Walsingham—he formally received his appointment as Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

² "the same" erased, "you" put over.

³ Boastings, vauntings. The somewhat uncommon word "exclamator" is here used in the sense of a loud boaster. I have not been able to discover what this affair with Torperley was.

⁴ "over" erased before "againste."

inge that nowe he hath founde waie to be harde he will imbusie him soe moche wth importunate trowblinge yo^r hono^r (taking it an easier waye to lyve by then toccupie his craftte) as thereby make him knowen to yo^r hono^r as he is in deede, & not in shoe¹ and then ame I assured in end his rewarde will be as he deserveth and not accordeinge to his expectacon. I humblie besek yo^r pardon for mye overtediouse troublinge yo^r hono^r and soe wth the consideracon of mye humble dutie I take leave.

ffrom Ludlo^w the xxth of Januarie, 1575.

humbly at your honorable
comaundment

WILLM. GERRARD.

APPENDIX E.

GERARD'S DISCOURSE.²

A discourse of the estate of the Countrey and people of Wales in the tyme of kinge Edwarde the ffirste and from that tyme vntill the establishement of A Counsaill in the Marches of Wales.

The travaille of that Counsaill att that tyme and the benefitte succedinge
The travaylle of thatt Counsaill att this Daye and the sequell, requisitte to be considered before perfect understandinge can be had howe necessary it is for that governement, to haue the same Counsaill maineteigned and countenanced. And no lesse nedefull to provide order to preventt suche harmes and evelles as followeth there proceadinges att this day, and to reduce them to the like maner and order of Service, as was vsed before by those who served in the tyme of there ffirste establishment.

¹ Show.

² *State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. 107, No. 21.

It is requisite for him that desireth to understande the benefitte the Countrey of wales hath received by the travayll of this Counsaill in the marches sythence the establishment thereof, and whether in the maner of their governem^t att this day, in hearinge of causes and bringinge of Sutes in question, it be necessary that some p^rvi^on¹ of reforme be had, that he loke back and consider the estate, which the people of that Countrey remayned in, in the tyme of kinge Edward the firste and from that tyme untill perfect and full establishment of that Counsaill; And consider also the state the same Countrey hath ben in euer sithence and yett is, And then shall he fynde, comparinge thestate of the Countrey to the seuerall tymes aforesaid, not onely the greate care had to worck them to such obedience, as they might by lawe be gouerned occasioned theestablishment of that Counsaill: but also upon the understandinge of the generall benefitt Which all the Countrey hath tasted of, by the travaille of the same Counsaill, will perceave that att this day noe lesse regarde ys to be had to the contynuance countenance, and backe-settinge² of that Counsaill then was att their firste establishment and shall neuertheles fynde that suche multitude of causeles exclaimes³ and quarellinge Sutes are brought in question before that Counsaill att this day as the Countrey greatly ympouerished thereby, and that it is full tyme to provide some meane of reforme./

Kinge Edwarde the firste after two seuerall suppressinge and pardoninge of Lfen⁴ Prince of wales in the Seconde and thride yeres of his Reigne, beinge in the ixth and xth yere of his Reigne trowbled by the rebellion of the same Lfen and Dauid his brother and suppressinge them bothe

¹ Provision.

² "Back-setting" seems to be here used either in the sense of supporting, as it were from behind, or possibly of re-instating or re-establishing in its original state. The more usual meaning of the word is that of attacking from behind.

³ Gerard seems to use the noun "exclaim" in the technical sense of a formal statement of grievances. Cf. later on, "causeless exclamations," "exclamants." Perhaps "exclamator" was also used by Gerard, in his letter above, in the sense of a vexatious and frequent litigant.

In addition to what is stated in *Y Cymmrodor*, xii, 53-5, as to the litigious character of the Welsh people at this time, see also George Owen's "Dialogue," in Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, iii, 35 *et seq.*

⁴ Llewelyn.

in the xijth yere after he had buylded Conwayne, Carnarvon, Ruthin, and fflyntte¹ Castles and provided garisons sufficient to fortifie and kepe them, then consideringe [that] to conquere by the swoorde and not to kepe the thinge gotten in peas,² deserved not the comendaçon of a full conqueste, and well knowinge that better is the comendaçon of keapinge then conqueringe ³because ofte tymes conqueste happes by chaunce butt keapinge and gouerninge euer by wisdom.³ He therefore, before his departure from Wales, ordeyned att Ruthlan in the same xijth yere of his Reigne diuerse and soundry good lawes whereby to governe those people; the preamble of wth lawe ensueth.

Edwardus⁴ dei gr̃a Rex Anglie dñs Hibnie et dux Aquitaine oib; fidelib; suis de terra sua de Snodon et de alijs terris suis in Wallia sal in dno⁵ Divina providentia que in sua disposiçoe non fallit⁶, inter alia sue dispensaçoe⁶ munera quib; nos et Regnũ ñm Anglie decorari⁷ dignata est, terram Wallie cum Incolis suis prius nobis iure feodali subiectam, sui gr̃a in proprietatis ñre dominiũ (obstaculis quibuscunq; cessantib;, totaliter et cũ integritate convertit et Corone Regni predcti tanq̃m partem corporis eiusdem annexit & vnivit nos itaq; intuitu⁸ divino volentes dcam terram nr̃am de Snodon et alias terras nr̃as in partib; illis sicut et ceteras ditioni ñre subiectas, ad honorem & laudem dei & ecclie ac zelum Justicie, sub debito regimine gubernari, et Incolas seu habitatores terrar; illar;, qui alte et

¹ The names of the castles are underlined in different ink. In the margin opposite there is a little mark, obviously intended to catch the eye. Similar marks (most of them resembling a fleur-de-lis), and under-lines which occur more frequently later on, were probably inserted by Walsingham himself when perusing the Discourse.

² Peace.

³—³ The intervening passage is underlined.

⁴ The whole of this extract is written in italics and possibly by a different writer. For the full text of the Statute of Rhuddlan (which was strictly speaking not a Parliamentary Statute at all, but a set of regulations made at Rhuddlan by the King in Council) see *The Record of Caernarvon*, p. 119 *et seq.* To the text there printed, this extract closely corresponds, and such variations between them as appear to be of any importance are given in the notes which follow. It has not been thought necessary to extend the contractions of this extract.

⁵ "Saltm in dno sempit dei et divina," in *R. of C.*

⁶ "Inter alia dispensaconis sue munera," in *R. of C.*

⁷ "Decorare," in *R. of C.*

⁸ "Nutu," in *R. of C.*

basse, se submiserunt voluntati nre & quos sic ad nram recepim⁹ voluntatem, certis legib; & consuetudinib; sub tranquillitate et pace nra tractari, leges et consuetudies partiū illar; hactenus vsitat⁹, coram nobis & procerib; nris fecimus recitari quib; diligenter auditis ac plenius intellectis, quasdam illar; de Consilio procerū predctorū delevim⁹, quasdam permisimus ac quasdam correximus ac etiam quasdam alias adijiendas et faciendas¹ decrevimus et eas de cetero in terris nris in partib; illis, perpetua firmitate teneri et observari voluimus in forma subscripta.

Whereby it maye be gathered that the same kinge well knowinge that if it might be brought to passe to haue them gouerned by the lawes of England, he sholde not onely by makinge them as one English people, subiecte to the Crowne better by lawe keape them from rebellinge, then by the swoorde. But also thereby reape and receaue the Revenewes of that lande and Countrey due to the Crowne in quiett which before, with more of the treasure of the Realme and the losse of many Subiectes, was spent and distroyed in maintenance of Warres and of garrisons keapte in Castles dispersed in manner throughe Wales.

His pollicye in those lawes is worthy the notinge, ffor as all the same be consonaunte, for the moste parte, to the lawes of England, yett forecastinge that to with drawe them att one tyme² from all their Wallshrye and Walshe costomes² was not the meane to wyne them to the obedyence He pretended. Therefore in those lawes, aswell in the bringing in of Sutes: as in the procedinge to tryall and in such other poinctes where withowt greate offence to Justice it might be suffered and tollerated, he allowed to them many of their oulde costomes: And ordered by that lawe the three counties of Northwales, Anglezeye, Carnarvon and Merionneth then called the lande of *Snodon* and the countie of *fflynte* to be devyded into hundredes and made parcelles of those seuerall counties. The Justices of the foreste of *Snodon* appointed to execute Justice in those three counties of Northwales, The Justices of Chester to serve for *fflinte*: A Chamberlayne to keape the *Orriginalle Seale*, in which Counties those lawes haue euer-sythence ben vsed and executed, and notwithstanding in

¹ "Statuend'," in *R. of C.*

²—² The intervening passage is underlined, and a mark placed in the margin opposite.

the 17 yeare of his Reigne, there rebelled againste him one Sr Rees Mereddeth¹ and in the xxiiiijth yere of his Reigne one Madock² Which occasioned the same kynge, to buylde Bewmaries Castle and to fortifie with newe garrisons all the said Castles: Thees Lawes and fortefyinge coulde not prevayle yett (as maye be founde) in the Cronicles of tymes of other kinges to bringe the walshrye to be of the mynde, that they were a like people subiecte to the Crowne as were the Englishe, Wherefore betwene them and the Englishe people remayned as mortalle hate as betwene the Englishe man and the Scotte: And this maye be gathered by the complaynte of the Comens, the englishe Subiectes in the seuerall Counties of Englande next adioyninge to Wales at diuerse Parlyamentes, but speciallye in the tyme of kynge Henry the 4th and by their prompte readines, to ayde the Rebell Owen Glendor: Wherefore in that kynges tyme, many sharpe lawes³ were made againste them Whereby noe entire⁴ Walsh man sholde purchase any landes or tenem^{ms} in any Towne of marchandize adioyninge to the marches of Wales nether be free in any englishe towne or beare weapons in the same./

2. h: Cao.
12.

¹ Rhys ab Meredydd, lord of Ystrad Tywi, whom Edward I had rewarded with a grant of lands for his assistance in the war against Llewelyn, revolted and seized the castles of Llandovery, Dynevor, and Carreg Cennen on the Sunday preceding St. Barnabas's Day, 1287, and during the next month reduced the greater part of South-West Wales except the Castles of Carmarthen and Llanbadarn Fawr (*Annales Cambriae*, s.a. 1287). After varying fortunes, he was eventually defeated, and was shortly afterwards executed in April 1292.

² Madoc, who was probably a natural son of Llywelyn ab Gruffydd, was the leader, in North Wales, of the rebellion which broke out simultaneously, as the result of a previous arrangement, in all parts of Wales on Michaelmas Day, 1294. The rising, occasioned by the heavy taxation levied towards Edward I's projected expedition to Gascony, was not suppressed till the beginning of the following March; even to the end of July, the King remained in Wales, and his Itinerary during that period can be traced, chiefly by means of entries on the Patent Rolls. (See *Calendar of Pat. Rolls*, 1292-1301, and the late Judge Lewis's article thereon in *Wales* for March 1896, pp. 113-121.)

³ As to the repressive legislation summarised here, see the "Cruell Lawes against Welshmen", appended to George Owen's "Dialogue" in Owen's *Pembrokeshire* (iii, 120 *et seq.*) with the editor's notes thereon.

⁴ That is, a Welshman, both whose parents, as well as himself, had been born in Wales.

Then was it provided that if any the Cattell of thenglishe people dwellinge in the Counties adioyninge, were distreigned and brought to any Lordeshipp in Wales, that thereupon *lettres* Testimoniall recitinge theire greef sholde be directed to the gouerners or Stewardes of the same Lordeshipp, from the Sherief of the Counties, or from the maiors or Bailieffes of the Citties or Townes where the people soe greaved, dwelte, to thende those gouerners or Stewardes might thereupon redeliuer the same cattalles soe distreigned wthin vijth dayes next after, And if they refused, then the partie greaved to arreste whatt person soeuer of wales, cominge into England with goodes or Cattelles and them to deteigne, vntill gree¹ were made./

2 h: 4.
Ca^o. 16.

By this lawe wherein libertie of Marte² was graunted to thenglishe thestate the Countrey was in, may well be gathered: /

for felonious offences committed in Englande beinge there outlawed upon a *lettre* to the Stewarde, where the felon dwelte he sholde be put to execucōn³: /

2. h: 4
Ca^o. 17.

Noe walshe man colde sue an englishe man but before an Englishe Judge and the tryall by *Englishemen* onely: /

2. h: 4
Ca^o. 19.

There then assemblies were soe daingerous as it was provided that noe companies of walshe men or Congregacons by them⁴ sholde be made or suffered in any parte of Wales for any Counsaill or purpose if it were not for evident cause and necessarye and by lycence of the chief officers of the Seignoriees where suche meetinge sholde be⁵: /

4. h: 4.
Ca^o. 27.

And further that noe walshe man sholde be armed or carrye armo⁶ defensive, to any towne, markt, Church or Congregacōn no⁷ in the highe wayes: /

4. h: 4.
2 Ca^o. 28.

And that nether Englishe man nor walshe of what condicōn soeuer sholde carrye or bringe by collo⁸ of marchandize or otherwise, any Victuall or armor into the partes of wales without the kinges speciall knowledge or

¹ Recompense.

² Marque, *i.e.*, originally, license to pass the *Marches* or limits of a country to make reprisals.

³ A certificate of his outlawry from the King's Justices was the "*lettre*" which was necessary before his execution.

⁴ Cf. *Y Cymmrodor*, xii, 40, n. 3, and 45, n. 4.

⁵ The chapters of the Statutes of 4 Henry IV here summarised are Nos. 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 and 33, and not as cited in the margin.

his Counselles, if it were not to stoare or furnishe
thenglishe Townes and Castles there And that there sholde
be in euery parte of the marches of wales, Constables
chosen to enquire serche and arreste, suche victuall and
armo^r and to haue for their travaille the parte¹ thereof :/

4. h : 4.
Ca^o. 29.

And also that noe walshe man sholde haue Castle,
ffortresse nor howse defensive of his owne nor of any
others to kepe otherwise then as was vsed in the tyme of
kyng Edwarde the Conquero^r of Wales, Excepte Bus-
shoppes and other lordes Temporall for their owne bodies
onelye :/

4. h : 4.
Ca^o. 30.

It was then also provided that noe walshe man sholde
be made Chamberlayne, Chauncello^r, Treasurer, Sherief,
Stewarde, Counstable of Castle, Receavo^r, Excheto^r,
Coroner, or cheif fforrester no^r other officer, nor keaper of
Recordes ne Leevetennant in any of the same offices in noe
parte of wales nor be of the Counsaill of any Englishe
lorde, excepte the Busshopps of wales and such other as
the kinge had founde, his good and loyall Subiectes
Whereof he wolde be advised by his Counsaill :/

4. h : 4
Ca^o. 31.

And that garrisons of waled Townes and Castles sholde
be provided for and furnished sufficientlye with englishe
men, straingers to the Seignoriees where such Castells
and Townes were and not of any mixte people of those
partes and Seignories vntill the said lande of wales, were
iustified and appeased for the tyme to come :/

4 h : 4.
Ca^o. 32.

Thees lawes and diuerse other att that tyme were made
and by Prynce H. the 5, after the Rebelles subdued manye
Castelles in wales were with garrisons furnished : Which
lawes and garrisons yett prevayled nott, to bringe them to
obedience, as maye appere by this recitall in the tyme of
the same H. the 5 :/

fforasmuche as sithence the Rebellion of wales, nowe
lately reformed diuerse of the Rebels of wales with other
to them adherentte, with force and armes in maner of warre
sometymes by day and sometymes by nighte have come
into the Counties of Salopp, Heref[ord] and Glowcester
and into diuerse other places to the same adioyninge and in
diuerse woodes and other places in those partes lyen and
lodged which haue trayterously and feloniouslye taken

2. h : 5.
Ca^o. 5^a.

¹ Space for a word is left blank between "the" and "parte." The portion provided by the Statute was a sixth part.

diuerse of the kinges faithfull Subiectes some in rydinge aboutes their marchandize and other busines doinge and some in their houses wherein they were abydinge, doinge their worck and husbandrye, in godes peace and the kinges. And the same Subiectes of the kinges so taken haue carryed owte of their Countrey, to diuerse partes of wales and them haue deteigned and keapte with them in the mountaignes of those partes of wales, by haulf a yere sometymes more and sometymes lesse vntill they haue ransomed some of the said leoges to an C^u¹ and some to more after their offerance in like maner as in a lande of warre to the greate damages and mischeif of the people of that Countrey and Counties and to very evill example, if it be not the rather remedyed as the kinge att the grevouse complainte of his Comons hath conceaved: Our Sovereigne lorde the kinge therefore hath ordeyned, &c. And soe provided remedie as appereth by that lawe :²

23. h : 6
Ca^o. 5^h In the 23 yere of kinge H. the VIth they were complayned upon and p^rvided for by Parliament. And in the XXVth yere of His Reigne all maner of Statutes made in any Parliament against walshe men, before that tyme and not repealed, were approved ratified and confirmed. And all grauntes of ffranchises, markettes, ffaiors,³ and other liberties to buye and sell within the Townes of Northwales before that tyme made, were made frustrate.

25. h : 6.
Ca^o. 1^o And notwithstandinge it is not founde that euerafter hitherunto they either rebelled or assented to any Rebellion or otherwise aided any other rebellinge, yett in felonies stealinge and prayinge of Cattell in wales and in thenglishe adioyninge Counties they 'encreased vntill kinge H. the 7th as' may be gathered greatly favoringe them and desirous to perfecte that, *which* kinge E. the ffirste had worthelie begonne, to bringe the holle Countrey of wales to obedience of lawes, seeinge the greate oppression of the poore, whoe sufferinge wronge had noe meane of remeadye.

¹ C^u = £100.

² The remedy provided by this Statute, of which the preamble only is given in the text, was that if a Welshman, on process awarded against him for detaining an Englishman, refused to appear, he should be outlawed, and writs should be issued for his apprehension.

³ Fairs.

⁴ The intervening passage is underlined.

And findinge howe difficulte and harde it was for euery poore wronged person, to repaire from wales, to london with complaintes of iniurye and to encorraige them the better to obaye lawe when they shoulde finde their wronges better remedied by lawe, then revenged by them selfes and that without greate travaill or chardge: Therefore he sent hether Prynce Arthure, and with him Counsellors and Comissioners, here to remayne settled (for allthough the kinge E. the 4 sent hether Counsellors yett they were not resident) with greate wisdom and pollicye he devised their residencie to terrefie and keape vnder the walshe and to defende the englishe Counties adioyninge, from their spoyles, And, as may be gathered, deviding wales from England by Severne which renneth from *Shrovsburye* to *Bristol* and so to the Sea and by the water of *Dee* w^{ch} renneth from the *Bala*¹ in Merionneth sheere vnder the side of Shropshire, vnto the sea beyonde Chester. Appointed those Englishe Counties adioyninge to Severne and *Dee*: viz.: Chessheere, Shropshire, Worcestersheere, Herefordsheere, Gloucestersheere and the Citie of *Bristol* standinge upon Severne,² vnder their auctoritie and Jurisdiction which englishe Counties environ wales, from the Sea into the which Severne falleth, to the Sea neare to Chester into the which *Dee* renneth and by that meane provided the Counsaill to be assisted, vpon all sodaine eventes with the power of the said englishe Counties adioyninge soe as noe walshe man colde passe thence into any parte of this Realme (excepte by Sea) but through some of those Counties: They had Instruccons geven them which was in effect to execute Justice vpon all felons and prayers of Cattell in the englishe adioyninge Counties vpon all felonies there or in any parte of wales comitted, to suppress and punish by ffyne and ymprisonment Rowtes, Riottes, vnlawfull assemblies, assaultes, affraies, extorccons and exaccons and to heare the complaintes aswell of all poore welshe personnes oppressed or wronged in any cause as of those inhabitinge in the englishe Counties adioyninge. They had auctoritie by Commission of Oyer

Prince
Arthur
sent into
wales.

¹ Gerard is right in the use of the definite article before *Bala*, for in Welsh it is always known as *Y Bala*.

² As to the Council's jurisdiction over this English area, see the authorities cited in *Y Cymmrodor*, xii, notes 2 and 3, also Wright's *Ludlow*, 420.

and terminer and speciall gaole deliuerie throughowte wales and in those englishe Counties adioyninge :

The good effecte of this ffirste and well devised establishment followed not in that Prince his tyme whoe lyved but haulf a yere¹ neither in the tyme of Princes Marye beinge sent thithe^r wth like Counsaill and auctoritie vntil aboutes the yeare² of Kynge Henry the Eighte whoe moste carefullye seekinge to fynishe the platte layed downe by his noble progenitors E: the ffirste and H: the 7th finished the same, and by his meane he provided of greate callinge and habilitie stowte and wise Presidentes and assisted them with greate learned persons, and owte of those englishe Counties diuerse gent³ although not learned yett of good callinge and estimaçõn in their Country to be of the same Counsaill. Of this nomber after the XXth yere of his Reign there was placed Rowland Busshopp of Coventree and Leechefeelde Lorde President there and S^r Thomas Englefeelde Justice of the comen pleas Justice there, and others learned in the lawes whoe travailinge accordinge to the Instruccions aforesaid throughowte wales made all wales and those englishe Counties adioyninge to taste of the fructe that before was graffed.³

Theire pollicie was not to make settelled aboade in any one or other place certaine but euer thither they repaired where greatest cause yelded occasion, and by this travaille, after they had gotten knowledge and vnderstandinge of the people and their inclynaçõn they provided att the Parliament to make those streighte lawes extante in the 26 of H.⁴ the eight, that feloniousse offences in wales might be tryed in the next counties adioyninge fyndinge (as mighte seeme) over partiall tryall in wales againste the Kynge :

They then devised the Statute made in the 27th of His Highnes Reigne whereby, all thother partes of wales were

¹ In common with other writers, Gerard omits to take into account the eight or nine years which Prince Arthur spent at Ludlow prior to his marriage, though it was "but half a year" or less that he lived after his return there subsequent to his marriage. See p. 101 above.

² The word "twentieth" appears to have dropped out before the word "yeare". The reference to Henry VIII is underlined, and there is the usual mark opposite it in the margin.

³ The fruit that before was graffed.

⁴ "26 of H." is underlined and the margin marked.

divided by like order, as Northewales 'into hundredes and those annexed into Counties abolishinge by the same all the walshe Customes' and walshrie, suppressinge the regalitie of lordes marchers, in their accustomed order and maner in executinge Justice vpon felons and settinge downe Justice to be administred accordinge to the lawes of Englande and as was vsed in the three Sheres of Northewales by the former recited lawe of kinge E. the ffirste, forbiddinge soe muche the use of walshe speeche as all pleadinges and proceedinges in sute to be in the englishe tonge' with payne that whoe soe vsed the same and not thenglishe tonge sholde not enioye any office in England wales nor any the kinges domynions : :/

The likinge *which* bothe the kinge and the Subiectes of wales had of this chainge of all the walshe lawes and customes into the maner and order of the lawes of Englande, appereth by the acte the same kinge (att their desire att the Parliam^t made in the 34 and 35 yere of his Reigne) pleased to passe.¹ The preamble of *which* lawe this begetteth : Our Sovereigne lorde the kinges maiestie of his tender zeale and affec^on that he beareth towards his lovinge Subiectes of his Dominion principalitie and Countrey of wales, for good rule and order from hensfurth to be keapte and maineteigned within the same, whereby, his said Subiectes maye growe and rise to more wealthe and prosperitie hath divided and made diuerse and soundrey good and necessarie ordinaunces, *which* his maiestie of his moste aboundaunt goodnes, att the humble Sute and peti^on of his said Subiectes of wales is pleased and contented to be enacted in *manner* and forme as hereafter ensueth: ffirste &c. A clause establishinge the Counties men^oned in the former acte of a^o. 27 to remaine Counties.

¹ The intervening passage is underlined and the margin marked.

² It was *inter alia* enacted by 27 Henry VIII, c. 26, s. 20, that "all officers and ministers of the law shall proclaim and keep the Sessions . . . and all other Courts in the English Tongue." As much of the business performed at the present day by the County Councils was previously performed by the Justices in Quarter Sessions, this rule as to the exclusion of Welsh (which is still in force) seems also to apply to the proceedings of County Councils. (See Sir Richard Webster's opinion on the point in *Bye-Gones*, 1889-90, p. 59.)

³ The reference to the Statute is underlined.

Item that there shalbe¹ a Lorde President and Counsaill in the principallitie and dominion of wales, as hath ben accustomed ; which President and Counsaill, shall have full power and auctoritie, to heare and determyn by theire wisdomes and discreacōns suche causes and matters as be or hereafter shalbe assigned to them by the kinges ma^{tie} as heretofore hath ben accustomed and vsed, And by the same lawe one Justice onely is appointed to execute Justice in all those countyes,² with as ample auctoritie, as the Justice of the kinges benche or comen pleaz : By the same lawe is order prescribed to Sherieffes, Pregnotarie,³ Justices of peace, Coroners, knightes and Burgesses of the Parlyam^t and to other officers and offices as in *England*, ever sithence have ben and att this day are put in execu^{ti}ōn : / :

Nowe thestate that Countrey remained in, in the tyme of E. the firste, H. the 4th, H. the 5th, vntill the Counsaill was thus there settelled, is to be compared wth thestate the same is in att this day and then shalbe founde, the greate benefitte that succeded theire labors. The former recited lawes in the tyme of H. the 4th, H. the 5th, and H. the eighte declare that they and those of thenglishe Counties adioynge, lyved as in a Countrey of warre and not as in a Countrey gouerned by lawe : :

At this daie it is to be affirmed, that in wales vniuersallie, are as civile people and obedient to lawe, as are in England. Throughowte wales in every respect Justice embrased⁴ and with as indifferent⁵ trialles executed in as England, duringe the tyme of her ma^{ties} Reigne excepte 3^o or 4^o pettye Coyners, Noe treason hard of ; very seldome murder. In vj^o yeares togeather vnneth⁷ one Robbery

¹ The words of the Act (Section 4) are "That there shall be and remain a President and Council in the said Dominion and Principality of Wales and the Marches of the same."

² One Justice was appointed for each of the four circuits into which Wales was divided. Within less than a year after this was written, provision was made by 18 Elizabeth, c. 8, for the appointment of a second or Associate Justice for each circuit.

³ The Prae-notary or Proto-notary (more often Prothonotary) was the chief "notary" or registrar of a court. See Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, iii, 8.

⁴ "H. the 5" is written in above line.

⁵ Gladly accepted or availed of.

⁶ Impartial.

⁷ Scarcely.

(comitted by the highe waye) harde of: Stealinge of Cattell is the chief evill that generally moste annoyeth the Countrey:

Thees stowte and greate Counsellors, to bringe this Civilitie amonges the people, spent then their yerely travaille in maner throughowt Wales and thereby knewe the people and their disposiçon and occupied their tyme in serching and tryng owte of crimynall causes and offences, yeldinge severe ponishment to euery offendor, defended the mener sorte from the oppression of the greater, which att that tyme was greate and att this daye wolde be greater, if that Counsaill were not continuallye readye, vpon complainte to reforme them. And fyndinge the Comen sorte by taste of the sweetenes of Justice, putt in vre¹ amonges them by the travaille of that Counsaill, more desirous to have Justice to remeadye their wronges, then to revenge the same them selffes. The Counsaill then provided for the better gouernment (as tyme gave occasion) the lawes laste before recited. And this was thonly acte and travaille of this Counsaill without which or the like labo^r, noe hoape that wales woulde in many yeres have ben brought to thestate they nowe bee. And althoughe the same Counsaill bestowed then their labo^r and tyme all those dayes in sorte aforesaid and in matters apperteigninge to gouernement, yett as tyme and libertie gave them leass² they harde (warrannted by auctoritie) the complaintes of poore suters and comonly vpon bill and aunswere tooke orde^r, for in the orderinge of an hundred causes vnneth there happened in one of them wittnesses to be produced. Then were there neather Counsellors att the barre nor Attorneys in Cortte. A Secretorie, A Clerck of the Signett, Clerck of the Counsaill and 3^o or 4^o vnder Clerckes that made billes and a Porter were all the attenders Yf any felonye or outragiows cryme were enformed of they had tyme and leass^r to spende their labo^r to serche and trye owte the offenders. And this was aboutes the XXVIIIth yere of his Reigne,³ yerely after as the people founde place to resorte vnto, to have vpon complainte their wronges harde and remedyed, the Countrey growinge to more Civilitie, Sutes increased, and with them more Clerckes followed, and then one or two learned⁴ men

The principal officers y^t were at the Fyrst erection of y^t gouernement.

¹ Use, cf. "enure".

² Leisure.

³ A.D. 1536.

⁴ This sentence is underlined and the margin marked.

began to attende att the barre and Clerckes made them selfes Attorneys and by them began the manner and order used in the Chauncery in procedinge to heare causes. /

D.¹ 1.
Encrease
of
Attor-
neys.

The yerely increase of Attorneys², Counsellors³ and Clerckes sythence that tyme hath ben such, as nowe there are Attorneys above xx⁴ and one with an other euerye one twoe Clerckes, Counsellors att the barre, comonlye euery terme, haulf a score; Twelve Clerckes att the leaste whoe make billes,⁵ fyve or sixe that attende the Signett, and all those att this Day occupied. There are nowe four termes in the yere and in euery terme, two or three hundred⁴ matters appointed to bee harde, and what expences are susteigned in euery of those matters wherein wittnesses be examined or the same be harde is good to consider: And accomptinge like nomber to euery of the four termes in the yere, and like expences in euery matter three or foure thousande poundes, wilbe gathered att the leaste to be expended by yere. There are foure monethes in the yere expended in terme tymes and thother eighte monethes in vacaçon, one weeke with another throughowte the yere, there passeth an hundred or two hundred proces,⁵ and in euery terme there are ended in after noone Rules one with another, by Commission to frendes, by wager of lawe and by dismission vpon thaunswere 200 matters; The yerely chardges accompted, which the very walshe Subiectes expendeth in sutes, followinge that Counsaill, maye

¹ D=Disorder.

² From time to time Parliament made numerous attempts to limit the number of attornies in England. In 1292 the maximum number was fixed at 120, but in a little over a century they had increased to no less than 2,000, and both in 1402 and 1411 the Commons petitioned the King against their "multitude." Norfolk had a bad reputation in this respect, and in 1455 an Act was passed prescribing "How many Attornies may be in Norfolk, how many in Suffolk and in Norwich." As to Henry VIII's reign, the excessive number of Attorneys is dwelt upon in the "Dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset," published in Starkey's *Life and Letters* (Early English Text Society, 1878). Still later, there was passed in 1605, "An Act to reform the Multitudes and Misdemeanours of Attornies and Solicitors at Law." The "yerely increase of Attorneys" was therefore by no means peculiar to Wales.

³ Much of the work now done by Solicitors, in the preparation of writs and other legal documents, was at this time done by the officials of the Court.

⁴ "Two or three hundred" is underlined.

⁵ This sentence is underlined.

be perceaved herebye. The toyle and travaill the Counsaill take in hearinge and ordering those causes and sutes exceedeth the paines taken in any office of Justice throughowte the Realme. ffor from sixe of the clock in the morninge untill sixe in the eveninge (allowinge them a dynner tyme) before noone, and after, they sitt in Cortte: And when leass^r and tyme geveth libertie some such as sitt nott in Cortte deale with the examinaçon of prysoners, so as nowe by ¹this discourse yo^r see howe XXX¹ yeres paste the travaille¹ of this Counsaill was expended, hollye in generall causes of gouvernement and the benefitte the same wroughte and howe att this daie, that travaille, is turned to the dispatche of pryvatte causes² and complaintes betwene partie and partie and the successe thereof, And the travaille nowe taken is to be comended and allowed soe farre as the same maye tende to healpe the oppressed, and so many there be of those poore symple ones in wales, that beare wronge and soe many more there woulde bee, if this Counsaill were not soe nere them, as it is as necessarye to contynue the maintenance of this Counsaill as a starre Chamber and Chauncerie Corte for wales, as are the starre Chamber and Chauncerie for England, for it were to be dowbted, if thauthoritie of this Counsaill sholde cease but two yeres, some parts of wales wolde in that tyme growe so yll as in tenne yeres after, it wolde not be brought in the same estate yt was in, and yett if the same Counsaill, spende more tyme to satisfie causeles exclamaçons, then healpe the wronged, that wolde be seene vnto: And notwithstandinge yt standeth with reason that more sutes sholde nowe followe the Courte then before, when the terror of the oppressor soe keapte vnder the sympler sorte, as they durste not complayne, or dowbted howe vpon complainte, to be harde and remedied yett oughte such care to be had in the receavinge of Sutes as vnder collor of symplie and pretence of wronge, cloaked in the pytifull complainte of the wicked vnquiett and maliciouse personne, the harmeles Innocent man be not toyled in sute and chardged vpon euery such faulse surmise³ and complainte. And therefore is consideraçon to be hadd to thende and

¹ The intervening passage is underlined.

² "Pryvatte causes" underlined.

³ *Surmise* was a technical Old-French word for the charge or accusation brought against a person.

- sequell of the number of those causes which are before recited and here brought to be harde and ordered, whether they falle owt to be matters devised, rather to satisfie the will and mallice of the exclamantes, to put other, whome they mislike and mallice to costes and travell, either elles they falle out, wronges don, worthie of redresse and order; And although it happeneth in this Corte as itt doth in all other Corttes that there shalbe founde of bothe sortes, yett I think, I may affirme ytt that in the hearinge of every tenth cause vnnethe happeneth one that hath order for the plaintief, and then followeth that in Tenne causes harde, nyne be causeles exclaymes and by that argument, wee do good to one and harme to nyne, and then allowe that in a terme tyme there be 300 causes harde 300 persons attende vpon those sutes, and after tenne in the hundred there are XXX^u that take good.¹ Then it followeth that 200 and 70 take lack. And they With their chardge and travaill and smalle recompence in comparison of their expences, retorne with repynninge and mislike. Yf therefore it coule be provided that none sholde be harde butt such as haue cause of complainte, and those causes to be harde and speedilie dispatched, that the chardges in sute, do not surmounte the benefitte to be taken by the recouerye as by sufferinge protracte and delaies very often happeneth. Then muste y^t followe that this Counsaill, sholde not be trowbled with the tenth matter they nowe bee. The money nowe expended in 300 Sutes in a terme, drawinge to noe smalle So^me, wolde remayne in the Countrey and some fewe officers, Clerckes and Inholders wolde take thereby wantte, and the Comynaltie of wales (whoe as nowe live verye poorely and hardelye although agaynste their willes) sholde be provided for to kepe their money to their selves and spende their tyme and labo^r aboutes their necessarie busines att home which nowe they yerely spende in Sutes and then shoulde this Counsaill haue tyme to travaille in the suppressinge of generalle disorders as felonies and such like as they hadd att the firste establishment which muste be confessed are nott soe severely looked vnto as were requisitte ::
- And like as experience doth teache such as doe travell

¹ This sentence is underlined and the margin marked.

in that service, that the comon sorte of the people of wales for the moste parte are so maliciouse, as they force¹ not of their owne chardge, soe they may procure chardges to the aduersarye and fyndinge, soe readye a passaige of revenge, as tyme hath taught them followinge this Counsaill, that assured vpon any vntrue surmice he may trowble his aduersarye with apparraunce before the Counsaill and not recompence him the iiijth parte of his chardges, howe wrongfully soeuer the cause shall appere, doe therefore bende their devises, and travell for revenge of euery trifelinge iniurye either offered or conceaved, to sue his aduersarye, by proces from the Counsaill. And so the poore sorte for the moste parte, empouershe them selffes and their aduersarie; And that this is true, experience teacheth, that comenly when any is enformed againste for wronge, ffurthwith againste the same enformer will he putt Informaçon for some cause, and oftentimes for the very matter he him self is chardged with, and wherin he knoweth him self faultie, satisfyinge him self that he hath putt the enformer to chardges. Wherefore (sithence they are not able to provide of them selffes remedy for their greiffes, although they both deserve yt and smartingly feele yt and with repynninge speches crye owte at ytt) ytt is the parte and dutie of the same Counsaill whoe at the beginninge travailled to bringe them to Civilitie and by Statute, are there setteled, to provide for their encrease in wealth² as the Statute doth recite, doe as carefullie nowe seeke by their wisdomes to maineteigne them in wealth as they did to bringe them to obedience, w^{ch} easylie may be don by makinge narowe the open and over broade passaige that all complaynantes haue to obteigne proces to worck, as muche as in them is that such causes, as require healpe and be meete for that Cortte maye be harde and wth dispatch ordered, and faulse Suggestions and surmises to be prevented, and beinge mette with, so severelie punished, as thereby the people may be terrefied to offerr any faulse surmise or complainte to obteigne proces againste any partie; And for that ende the orders

¹ They take no account of, or attach no importance to, their own expenses. As to the use of "force" in this sense cf. *The Ballad of Flodden Field*, iii, 26, "And of their lives took little force".

² "Wealth" is here used, as in the preamble of the Statute quoted above, in its original meaning of "well-being".

subsequente to be putt in execucon, which beinge dulye executed will in smalle tyme woork the effect aforesaid: And this don it forceth not howe many Clerckes (more then are) attende, beinge provided for and soe prevented, as they canne doe noe harme, for beinge brought from wales and trayned vpp in wrytinge att the Counsaill and there keapte vnder good order greatlye profitteth all the partes of wales :::

Orders devised to avoyde and remove the practizes at this day vsed by maliciouse corrupte and faulse surmises conteigned in billes of complainte exhibited to the Counsaill to bringe heapes of vnfitte tryfflinge Sutes and matters in Question before the same Counsaill there in forme of lawe to be harde and determined: Whereby greate expences chardges and trowble hath arisen to the Subiecte aswell *complainantes* as *Deffendaunt* and noe benefitte to either and to procure tyme speedilie withowt delaye or protracte to heare the iuste and true complaintes of the oppressed needefull to be remedied and to streighten all Suters Counsellors and Attornes to inssertte in their *complaintes* the symple truth of their greef onely as itt is without agravatinge the same by vntrue surmises or suggestiones:

Firste that noe Complainte of any pryvate personne conteigninge matter of wronge or iniurye don to his pryvate personne lands or goodes be receaved excepte the partie wronged in proper person exhibitte the *Complaint* or that othe be taken by him, that deliu'eth the bill, that the *Complainant* is soe aiged, sycke or ympotent as withowt dainger not able to travaille orelles vnder thaige of xxjth yeres and by his tutor or gardeyne do complainte: /

Also that noe bill be receaved conteigninge any matter of wronge or iniurye don to any person, his landes or goodes excepte the complainte be exhibited before the ende of the terme next followinge the tyme of the cause of sute geven: /

Allsoe if complainte be made for trespasse or wrongful entringe or disturbinge of the freeholde of any, or the possession of any termor for yeres or att will and surmise that he is not of habilitie to trye the Comen Lawe in the

Countie where the wronge was comitted and therefore for vnequalitie praye to be harde in that Cortte. Noe proces to be graunted vpon any suche bill excepte the *Complaint* be first exhibited to the Justice of Assise within that countie where cause of sute ariseth and he by *lettres* or other note of allowaunce recomende the hearinge of the same for that cause to the Counsaill :/

And also if any complainte be exhibited conteigninge forceble entrey or forceble withholdinge of landes, the surmise to be trauersed as well as the tittle and the same to be harde before the tittle, and if the surmise of the force be not directly proved in suche sorte and maner as it is sett downe by the complainte then the matter with full costes to the *defendant* to be dismissed and the tittle not harde :/

Item that noe tittle of coppie holde landes be harde excepte againste the lorde withowte manifeste testimonye that the complainte cannot haue indifferent tryall in the lordes Cortte./

Item that noe bill of complainte be preferred conteigninge any tittle of ffreeholde, copieholde, estate of yeres or att to be will excepte the same be drawn by a Counsellor learned and his name subscribed :/

Item that noe byll be preferred conteigninge any personall wronge to goodes or Cattalles for debtes or not savinge harmeles, execucions, extorcõns, assaultes, affrayes and carryinge of weapons, except drawn by one of the Attorneys or Clerckes allowed to drawe bylles./

Allsoe that neither Counsellors nor Attorneys subscribe their names to any bylles drawn by any other then by themselfes o' in the drawinge whereof their advises were yelded: /

Item that all other pleadings subsequent euery suche byll and thissues to be drawn and sett owt by Counsell learned and Attorney in sorte as is appointed for the makinge of billes :

Allso if the deffendaunte doe not aunswere the bill of complainte within three Corttes after the day of apparraunce to paye for euery delaye vj^s viij^d. /

Allso the like costes for the defecte vpon replicaõns, Reioynders, Surreioynders and Rebutters.

Allso that in all Comissions the daye and place where to execute the same be sett downe. The Comission to be to fowre, and by defaulte of anye two or one, thother three or two to proceede. /

Allso noe excuse to stave publicaõn, excepte that the partie will depose that withowt fraude or deceipte of his parte, suche wittnesses as he served with preceptes appered not before the Comissioners and take proces of contempte againste them :

Allso that if the plaintief be not readye att the day of hearinge the matter to be dismissed with good costes, and if the deft. be not ready the deft. to pay for that delaye x^s and x^s for euery daye after. And if he be not ready within three dayes, the Corte to reade the bookes, and whether the deft. be ready or not the Corte then to heare and order¹

Allso if the order passe with² the deft. by dismissal or otherwise that then he by him self or his Attorney exhibite his bill of costes what the same hath ben sythence the begyninge of the sute, and the same to be allowed vnto him, the greater costes especially wherein it may be proved or appere the sute was prosecuted withowt collor of tytyle. And if the order passe with the Compl[ainant] then the costes to be assessed in open Cortte after the consideraõn of the tyme the sute hath contynued and as may be gathered he hath expended, And this above allthinges to be putt dulye in execuõn./

If any Counsellor³ Attorneys or Clerckes do purloyne any of the bookes of the Cortte or after the same be signed by any of the Counsaill doe alter or chainge the same by razinge, addinge or diminishinge, the same personne to be punished by fyne and ymprisonment, and vtterly debarred from all attendaunce and service in any place Rowmeth³ or office belonginge to the Cortte./

Item the chief Clerck to take a perfect note howe and to whome the bookes be deliuered, and the same soe to keape as if any be missinge he be ready to showe to the Corte to whome the same were deliuered, otherwise he to pay the Costes both parties haue bene putto by that delaye :/

If any person preferre any bill to be signed and alleadge the partie to be presentte knowing him to be absent to be thereafter excluded from makinge of bylles :/

¹ Owing to a hole in the document, caused by folding the paper. the remainder of this sentence, about half a line, is lost.

² To fall to, or be given in favour of, the defendant.

³ Room or space (Nares' *Glossary*). It is here used in the sense of position or office.

If any person exhibite any bill or complaint or Informaçõn againste any other and be enioyned in any some to prosecute the same for the Quene and after without lycence of the Counsaill agree with the partie or pretermitte the prosecuõn of the same,¹ the same person to be fyned to the fowreth parte of the some, in which he was enioyned to prosecute./

If any one be dulye attainted before the Counsaill by lawfull proof to haue served any other wth fallse billetes² for apparraunce when in troth noe lettres were graunted, besides ffyne and ymprisonment, euery such one to be ordered to the pillorye:./

Item that noe bill be graunted att the sute of any pryveleadged person in Cortte bee he of the Counsaill, Counsello^m att the barre, Attorney or Attorneys Clerck or other Clerck or officer excepte the partie plaintiff will depose before the Counsaill to his knowledge the contentes of the bill to be true:./

Item that noe Counsello^r be permitted to pleade att the barre excepte he haue ben vtter barrester in Cortte of V^r yeres standinge att the leaste./³

Item if any person doe pretende subillie cause of sute againste any other and ytt be duly proved by witnesses or confession of the [par]tie⁴ that the same was devised through that devise take any money to staye the partie att

¹ As to the frequent compounding of offences in the Great Sessions at this period, see Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, iii, 45.

² Letters or writs.

³ An "Utter Barrister" practically meant simply a member of the Junior Bar, or as the modern phrase is, a gentleman of the Outer Bar—the three degrees among Counsel in the Tudor period being Serjeant-at-law, Bencher and Utter Barrister. The junior members were so called, because, at the Moots or Mock trials held in the Inns of Court, they had to "sit uttermost on the formes which they call the Barr". The origin of the name is fully discussed by the late Serjeant Pulling in *The Order of the Coif*, pp. 114, 175. An Utter Barrister was not however allowed to practise until he had first completed a prescribed period of attendance in Court during term time. In 1550, it was ordered that "none should come to any Bar at Westminster, and especially to the Chancery or Whitehall, under ten years continuance." In 1596, this period of probation was reduced to seven years. The Welsh Council was less exacting in requiring that Counsel pleading at its bar should be of at least five years' "standing". *Seats* for Counsel are but a modern contrivance. Down to the 17th century, Counsel had to *stand* at the bar at all times when in Court.

⁴ There is here a hole in the document corresponding to the previous hole.

without cause of purpose, to extorte from the partie againste whome the sute was taken, some rewarde and home, every suche one over and besides fyne and ymprisonment to be ordered to the pyllorye.

If itt be dulye proved that any Counsellor Attorney or Clerck attendinge prosequete any cause before the Counsaill in the behaulf of any other, havinge assuraunce or promisse of the thinge sued for, or of any parte thereof; besides fyne and ymprisonment to be excluded from such place of service or Roometh as he vsed before: The like order with all suche as shall take any some or somes of money and for the same assure the Clyentte to haue order to passe with him. And the like order with all such havinge ffee certaine appoincted either for makinge billes, proces, endorsementes, examinaçõ of Witnesses or other execuçõ of their office, as shall for the executinge thereof exacte more or greater ffees: /

Item that noe proces be graunted for the apparraunce of any before this Counsaill excepte the value thereof exceed fortie Shillinges¹ :/

Item if any surmise be made that the value of the thinge sued for, exceede xl^s, and then vpon prouf it falleth owt to be vnder the value of xl^s, then vpon the hearinge the plaintief to paye the deft. costes. And in consideraçõ of his false surmise, although the matter vpon exaiaçõ² falle owte with the plaintief yett the deft. to be dismissed. /

Item that the porter kepe in gaole all such prisoners as for contemptes or breach of order shalbe comitted to him in warde within the castle. And if any soe to be comitted, be taken abroade after the comitement and before his submission allowed, the keaper to be ponished by ymprisonment and the partie soe taken abroade, of what callinge soeuer he bee for that contempte, to be comitted to yrons. And that the said porter nor any his vnder porters, extorte or exacte of any personne to them comitted for his dyett or ymprisonment other or greater ffees then due and accustomed:³ /

¹ Regulations similar to this and that which follows it were also laid down as to the King's Court by 6 Edward I, c. 8, and 43 Elizabeth, c. 8, s. 2, but they do not appear to have been strictly enforced.

² Examination.

³ There are two endorsements on the back of this document. A small portion of the first, which may be in the same hand as the body of the Discourse, is lost owing to a hole in the paper. The

APPENDIX F.

GERARD'S SECOND OR "ABBREVIATED" DISCOURSE.¹

The notes w^{ch} I towld yo^r Hono^r Res^{ve} to yo^r self.²

In the former discourse this is to be noted, that although heare was a settled Counsell before the XXth yere of kinge Henrie theighte Yett there ensued not reforme of the walshrie disobedience to the lawes of Englande, vntill that tyme and vpon consideraçon of the cause whye more at that tyme then before and consideringe of the personnes whoe were then appointed to serve in that Comission. Yt maie easelie bee gathered that throughe the choise of the personnes and their travell correspondent the benefite of the sservice ensued./

A settled
cownsayle
before y^e
20th year
of K. H.
y^e 8.

Thone soe placed was Rowlande Bushoppe of Coventrie and Leechfeelde, called Busshoppe Rowlande whoe was stowte of nature, readie witted, roughe in speeche, not affable to anye of the walshrie, an extreme severe ponisher of offende^r desirous to gayne (as he did in deede) credit w^{ch} the kinge and comendaçon for his service. Suche one as hadd noe neede of the office for anye Wante of lvinge,

Rowland
B. of
Coventry.

second is in a different hand, and as the date 1583 shows, was added eight years later. The first runs thus:—

"Wales
Discourses for reforma[tion]
Instructions & orders [to be ?]
observed."

The second is as follows:—

"1583
A discourse of Wales & how to reforme the abuses,
&c., by Mr. W. Gerrard.
1583"

¹ *State Papers, Domestic, Eliz.*, vol. 107, No. 10.

² Evidently put in afterwards by Gerard himself. All the marginal notes are in a different handwriting, evidently not Gerard's, and not the same as the rest of the document.

Justyce
Engle-
feld.

for besides the kinges allowance he spent the Revenue of his Bishoprick in that service. He hadd ioigned¹ to hym as Justice S^r Thomas Englefeelde a Justice of the comen pleaz, for lerninge and discrete modeste behaveo^r comparable wth anie in the Realme. Suche one also as for gaine served not, for besides his offices above he hadd a Knightes Revenues. These twoo thus ioigned, assisted wth diuerse but not manie, some of lerninge some gent of calling in the englisshe Counties as the Justice of Northewales Thomas Bromley, Holte² and suche like in the begynning spent their holle tyme in travellinge yerelie eyth^r throughe Wales or a great parte of the same, in causes towching Civill governmt and by that travell knewe the people, and founde their disposiçon, favored and preferred to auctoritie and office in their Contreys suche howe meane of lyvinge soever theye were, as theye founde Diligente and willinge to serve in Discoveringe and tryinge owt of offences and offendo^{rs}. Theye likewise defaced³ and discourtenanced othe^{rs} of howe greate callinge and possessions soever theye were, beinge of contrarie Disposiçon. This stowte busshoppes Dealinge and the terro^r that the vertue of learninge workethe in the subiecte when he perceiveth that he is governed vnd^r a lerned magistrate, wthin iij or iiij^{or} Yeres generallie soe terrefied theyme, as the verie feare of ponishemt rather then the Desire or love that the people hadd to chaunge their Walshrie wroughte firste in theym the obedience theye nowe bee growen into./

Then was this Counsell and their procedinges as moche feared reverenced and hadd in estimaçon of

¹ Joined.

² See *Y Cymmrodor*, xii, 29, notes 2, 3. As to the Sir Thomas Bromley referred to here, he is to be distinguished from his more distinguished name-sake and second cousin, who at a later date became Lord Chancellor. Both are separately noticed in the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, and there are further references to members of the family in Clive's *Ludlow*, 211, 242, 244, 259, and Foss's *Biog. Dict. of Judges*, 126-8. Sir George Bromley, mentioned in *Y Cymmrodor*, *loc. cit.*, was the chancellor's brother. Thomas Holt, who held the office of Justice for the Carnarvon Circuit, belonged to the ancient family of that name seated at Grislehurst, Lancashire, which produced several lawyers, including the well-known Chief Justice (John) Holt (1642-1710), whose father, Sir Thomas Holt, was also a Serjeant-at-law and Recorder of Reading and Abingdon.

³ Destroyed the credit of.

the Walshe as at this Daye the Starre chamb^r of thenglishe./

Sythens that tyme althoughe there hath not succeeded such stowte travellinge Presidentes, Yett ever vntill of late tyme theye were assisted wth knowen lerned Justices as Sulyard, Conesby, Hare, Townshende, Pollarde and Woodes,¹ The afore named qualities and respectes in Busshoppe Rowlande and Englefeelde are to be wishedd in their Successo^r. At this Daie, to bee plaine the Counsell and Courte are neyther reuerenced feared or their proceadinges estemed. There is not neyther hath bene sithens the Quenes Raigne anie of the Counsell appointed to contynwell attendaunce of suche profounde Judgement as the place requirethe, or that maie be termed profounde learned, comparable wth those meaneste of those that have served as Justice sythens Englefeelde. And as the knowledge hereof hath bredd the Counsell^r at the barre by contemptuouse carpinge overmoche to deface, contempn and discountenance the benche: soe the Clientes takinge houlde of their disorde^r are perswaded that everie orde^r wth passethe againste theym is eyth^r throughe Inorance or Wilfullnes, of the Counsell, and soe doe departe wythe² repynge and murmuringe speeches³ moste person-

Learned
Justices
Conesby
Hare,
Townsend,
Pollard,
Woods.

The cause
whye the
counsaile
is not re-
uerenced.

¹ See the notes on these Justices in *Y Cymmrodor*, xii, 31, and Clive's *Ludlow*, 213. The following may also be added to what is there stated. As to the connection of the Sulyard family with Lincoln's Inn, see Pulling's *Order of the Coif*, 143, and Foss's *Biog. Dict.*, 644.

Conesby was probably Thomas Coningsby, who was appointed a judge of the King's Bench 5 July 1540. He was the second son of Sir Humphrey Coningsby, Sergeant-at-law and one of the Judges of the King's Bench in the first year of Henry VIII. Another descendant of Sir Humphrey was Sir Thomas Coningsby, of Hampton Court in Herefordshire (knighted by Queen Elizabeth in 1591), who was a member of the Council of the Marches in 1608 and died in 1625 (see Clive's *Ludlow*, 259).

Hare was appointed Chief Justice of Chester on 14 August 1540 *vice* Coningsby, and was himself succeeded, on 21 May 1545, by Sir Robert Townsend. His successor, Sir John Pollard, who died within a year of his appointment to the office (1557), was previously Justice of the Brecknock circuit, to which he had been appointed on 23 Nov. 1550, having been also relieved by patent 21 October, from his office of Serjeant-at-law, in order to become Vice-President of the Welsh Council. For Hare and Pollard see, further, *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*

² "As in place thereof" erased after "wythe".

³ "Passethe from the" erased after "speeches".

nes againste whome orde^m are taken soe as the evill that maie ensue is good in tyme to bee considered, for yf this Counsell bee not backesetted, mainteigned, and soe obaied as therby the Contreye maie soe bee terrified as theye were vpon the firste establishm^t more harme then good will succede their travel./

The Cousello^m vpon the firste establishm^t served wth owt desire to make gayne by that service otherwise then generall benefite to the Contreye. Yt were to be wished and necessarie that all succedinge mighte soe serve as the Countrey by theyme and not theye by the Contreye mighte reape private comoditie and benefite./

Over many Counsellors. Dowhtless there are Counsellors^m over manie and those for the moste parte verie vnfitte. There woulde never be anie placed but wth recomendacon frome the bodie of the Counsell./

I conclude wth this My tonge and not my penne shall open to Yo^r Whoe Wee are and what maner of personnes that serve at this daye./

The causes depending before the cownsaile meter for Leetes. It is moste true that the bodie of the Comunalitie of Wales are pore and their estate to be lamented of everie pitiful and carefull Magistrate, for he that woulde but marke the pore simple Creatures (I call to godd to witnes wth greiff and pitie of their smarte I speake yt) whoe come and goe to & from that Courte in the yere, and the small causes w^{ch} theye travell for when theye come to hearinge, meeter for a meane vnd^r Stuarde at a Leete or lawe daie to be decifed¹ then for a Counse[ll] settled for governem^t to be occupied wth all, would saie to him self, Yo^r pore Walshe Creatures yt is not yo^r but those appointed to governe yo^r whoe bee the causer^e of yo^r beggerie for the stablism^t is to devise for yo^r wealthe that w^{ch} yo^r malicious & wilfull disposicions cannot p^rcure to yo^r self./

The offyce of examinarship abused. I have protested to comitte to yo^r secretie what I knowe may doe the Contrie good and therefore muste touche suche as I am byed² to Love. And furth^r there is an office by her Highenes of late yeres newelie graunted of Examynar and a newe fee appointed, her Ma^{tie} abvsed vpon the firste graunting the benefite of that is to my frende but the smarte soe to the Contrie as not to be suffered./

¹ Query decided.

² Bound.

The porters Lodge¹ was in Busshoppe Rowlandes tyme suche a straitte place of ponishem^t as the comen people termed yt a hell, and nowe is growen to noe terro^r of ponishmen^t of the bodie but a gullf throughe fees to suck vppe a meane man./

The
Porters
Lodge
abused.
D.

The multitude of Clerckes harme not the Contrie but dothe great good if there were three tymes as manye of the Walshe Youthe, to be trayned vppe in writinge for that in everie parte of Wales by those Clerckes experience ord^r and Civilitye increaseth soe as the ord^r devised be duelite putte in execucon, wth done I dare affirme that in twoe yeres three partes of the Counsellor^s Attorneys and Clerckes will seeke to lyve in other places and by other trade, and twoe or three thowsand poundes will alsoe yerelie be kepte in Wales that at this daie is vanilie spent in wrangling sutes at that Counsell./

D. 8.

The Dyet
20th by
weeke.

The Quene geveth the honorable allowaunce to kepe the howse viz. xx^{li} the week and 200 markes to be bestowed in forren expences, and the fynes arisinge in that howse to paye Counsellor^s attendaunt^s the pursivauntes and ordenarie office^s there their fees and allowaunces. The Debtes w^{ch} are to be paid owte of those fynes at this daie are a thousande markes and above and wth out bett^r consideraçon will soe encrease as force ordenarie Survitor^s for wante of paymente to geve over that service./

The Civilitye, obediens and the Dutifull embrasinge of Justice amonges the people of Wales at this daie comparable wth thenglishe requirethe a like government as in England viz. twoe Justices, but of those and o^r fynes & myne opynion of helpe. I leave yt and oth^r matt^s, worthie of Reforme to speeche, for the same would be overtidious to wryte, and mye repaire not longe to.²

¹ In this connection, it may be mentioned that one of the difficulties of dealing with offenders at this period was that the Sheriff had no county prison in which to lodge his prisoners. Dr. David Lewis, writing to Sir Edward Stradling in 1578, pointed out that the "sheere [of Glamorgan] doth wante a convenient gaole to serve the shieriffe always as occasion shall requir" (*Stradling Correspondence*, 233), and this resulted in the appointment of a county gaoler (*Ibid.*, 50, 269).

² The endorsement of this document has been destroyed.

The Jesus College Peithynen.

BY PROFESSOR RHYS.

THE word *peithynen*, according to Dr. Davies's *Welsh-Latin Dictionary*, means "tegula, scandula, asser, lamina", and it is derived from *peithyn*, which is the Latin *pecten*, *pectin-is* 'a comb,' borrowed, and he gives *peithyn y gwŷdd* as meaning "pecten textoris". Similarly Pughe explains *peithyn* as "the reed-work of a loom, a slay; a slate, a tile, or other plain body," and adds "*peithynau olwyn*, the cogs of a wheel". Under *peithynen* he gives the following account of the meaning of that word:—"a plain body, as a slate, tile, a sheet of paper, and the like; the elucidator, or frame of writing, the book of the ancient bards, which consisted of a number of four-sided or three-sided sticks written upon, which were put together in a frame, so that each stick might be turned round for the facility of reading." So the ideological connection between the word *peithynen* and the Latin *pecten* is based on the appearance of the frame of which the *peithynen* consists.

Our Jesus College *peithynen* consists of fourteen four-sided sticks or staves, measuring about $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and held together by two split boards $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. These boards are tied with a cord at each of the four ends, and they are so socketed as to allow the staves to revolve. On the right hand the staves extend about two inches beyond the split board, and these two-inch ends are intended for the facility of turning the staves with the hand so as to expose their faces for reading according to one's wish. The right end of the top

stave is broken off even with the board, otherwise the peithynen is perfect, the wood being stained and in a good state of preservation. It should have been added that though the staves have four faces or four sides, that a little of the edges between those faces has been taken systematically off, in order, doubtless, to prevent the letters cut on one face from running into letters cut on the contiguous faces. The first three staves contain four lines each, the fourth contains two only: and these fourteen lines are shewn, with their interpretation, in the accompanying photographic reproduction, which represents a series of rubbings carefully made by Dr. Daniell. The first line on each stave is distinguished by a top notch to the left. In the illustration the staves should all be of the same length, but only the written portions of them have been rubbed: that is why they appear here of various lengths.

Our peithynen has thus on it three alphabets, two of which have nothing very specially Welsh about them, but the first or bardic alphabet, though consisting in the first instance of modifications of the English or Roman alphabet, has a number of new forms intended to meet the needs of Welsh spelling. A lucid and decisive account of the origin of this alphabet will be found, from the pen of the late Thomas Stephens, of Merthyr Tydfil, in the pages of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for the year 1872, p. 181 *et seq.* He shows that this alphabet was, to a certain extent, in vogue among the Welsh bards, especially those of South Wales, in the 15th and 16th centuries. The use of this system had not ceased when Llewelyn Siôn wrote in reference to it about 1613. Llywelyn Siôn died in 1616, and it is from his writings, probably, that Edward Williams, better known as Iolo Morganwg, a Welsh antiquary and poet of the last century (1745-1826), derived his information: our peithynen is the handiwork of Iolo.

[REDACTED]
Coelbren y beird . Bard's Alphabet .

[REDACTED]
A á e é i o ó w ŵ ȳ ð y . b f m p m p f f m h . c c h n g h g n g . t t h n h d d n d n . l l r h r s . h c h w .

[REDACTED]
Coelbren y Meneich . Monk's Alphabet .

[REDACTED]
A b c d e f g h i l m n o p r s t u v y . j , k , q q , w , x , z .

[REDACTED]
Rwyf beunydd yn rhoi sen i'r byd

[REDACTED]
A gado i'mryd ynfydu;

[REDACTED]
A'r poen, a'i achos, fal ysaeth,

[REDACTED]
O'r hunan caeth yn tyfu. Iolo Morgannwg.

[REDACTED]
This world I slander, to my shame,

[REDACTED]
Nor strive my passions once to tame;

[REDACTED]
Sharp ills I feel, but all, I find,

[REDACTED]
Spring from my own unmanly mind. E. Williams.

[REDACTED]
Blind Man's Alphabet.

[REDACTED]
A b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u v w x y z.

This is borne out by the writing in the peithynen itself, as already seen above, and by the evidence of the Rev. John Jones, otherwise known as Ioan Tegid, who was precentor of Christ Church, Oxford, and one of the editors of the Poetical Works of Lewis Glyn Cothi in 1837-1839. In a note at p. 260, he wrote as follows: "In the archives of the library of Jesus College, Oxford, there is a mahogany Peithynen, on which is inscribed the Bardic Alphabet, consisting of 16 primitives and 22 derivatives, cut with a knife by Iolo Morganwg, and presented by him to the College. Dr. W. O. Pughe, in his Grammar, has, however, arranged the order of the alphabet differently to that on the Peithynen; and has also added five letters to the class of derivatives, of which additional letters he acknowledged himself to be the author."

On this I have merely to remark that the wood is stained so as to look somewhat like mahogany; but it is certainly not mahogany: I am assured that it is some kind of fir.

It will be noticed that in both the Monk's alphabet and the Blind Man's alphabet Bardic forms occur; but I cannot find that the Blind Man's has had any actuality beyond this peithynen, where it is due to Iolo's ingenuity.

It may here be mentioned that a very happy use of the peithynen has been made by our poet, Ceiriog Hughes, in his poem on Myfanwy Fechan o Gastell Dinas Brân: the bard Hywel, who was in love with her, manages to tell her his complaint by means of a peithynen, which he deftly places in the hollow of a tree where Myfanwy was sure to see it. The readers of *Y Cymmrodor* are so familiar with the incident as not to require me to quote the lines in this brief notice of the peithynen.

*Jesus College,
Dec. 30th, 1839.*

VOL. XIV.

y Cymmrodor.

The Magazine

Of the Honourable

Society of Cymmrodorion.

*PRODUCED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.*

**LONDON:
ISSUED BY THE SOCIETY,
NEW STONE BUILDINGS, 64, CHANCERY LANE.**

1901.

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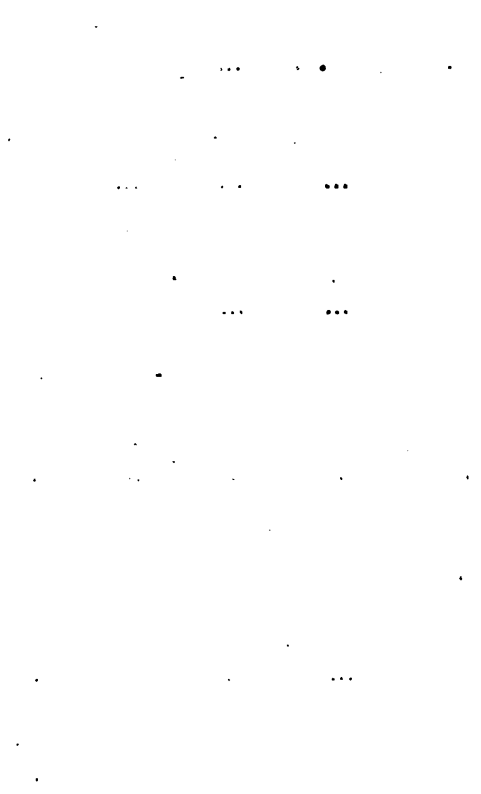
1901.

DEVIZES:
PRINTED BY GEORGE SIMPSON.

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VOL. XIV. "CARED DOETH YE ENCILION." 1900.

English Law in Wales and the Marches.

BY HENRY OWEN, D.C.L. OXON., F.S.A.

I.

THE history of the administration of English law in Wales and the Marches may be divided into three periods:—(1) during the gradual conquest of the country by the Anglo-Norman kings and their barons; (2) after the completion of that conquest, when "Wales" was governed by the Crown through the English Prince of Wales and the Marches were self governed and merely owned feudal subjection to the king; and (3) from the time of the union of Wales and the Marches to England until the abolition of judicial "Wales."

It has been the custom of writers on English history, so far as they think it worth while to refer to the Principality of Wales, to state that Wales was conquered by Edward I. But what Edward conquered was the dominion which was left to the last prince of the Welsh blood royal: the greater part of Wales had been conquered long before,

2 *English Law in Wales and the Marches.*

and remained for centuries under its peculiar jurisdiction quite apart from the realm of England and from the new created Principality of Wales. The effect of the Norman Conquest of England was soon felt in Wales. Norman adventurers, especially after the encouragement of the winning of Glamorgan in the early years of William Rufus, obtained grants from the English king of such lands as they could acquire in Wales; the Welsh historian took occasion to remark "the king was very liberal of that which was not his own."

It has been alleged that these grants were made on the ground of some claim of forfeiture of the Principality to the English crown; but although Edward could show some reason for his claim of feudal superiority over the dominions of Llewelyn, the earlier charters to the invaders granted to them in plain terms such land as they had acquired or should thereafter acquire "from our enemies the Welsh."¹

These lands came, early in the thirteenth century, to be called the Marches, and the holders of them Lords Marcher. The words "March" and "Marcher" appear in various forms in several European languages. The March was the boundary, and many writers have been led astray by the supposition that the Welsh Marches meant the lands on the borders of England and Wales (that is to say as at present constituted); but as the limits of the old Principality shrunk, the Marches followed them, so that we find Lordships Marcher in the farthest parts of Wales. After the prerogatives of the Lords Marcher were vested in the crown by Henry VIII, it was often difficult to decide which were or had been Marches; none could have arisen after Edward had annexed the remnant of the

¹ See *Rot. Chart.*, 63 and 66b.

Principality. Some (called Lordships Royal) had been acquired by the king at his own charges, and many were from time to time forfeited to the Crown, especially after the Wars of the Roses; in these he exercised jurisdiction, not as king, but as *dominus Marchiæ*. Although the laws of Henry IV, which deprived Welshmen of their rights and liberties, were directed against the inhabitants of the Principality and not those of the Marches, it was the latter which, after the union with England, continued to be more disorderly.

Some few lordships had been granted to Welshmen who were content to hold their lands of the King of England; for example, the Lordship of Powys, which became subject to the crown "by submission and not by conquest," retained the Welsh divisions of land and had courts baron and courts leet for each commote, in the same manner as the district afterwards included in the Statute of Rhuddlan. It is worth noting that the only Lordship Marcher in Wales in which some of the old prerogatives survive is that of Kemes in North Pembrokeshire, which was conquered by Martin de Tours in the reign of William Rufus; and it is to a Lord of Kemes in the time of Queen Elizabeth, one George Owen, to whose writings we are indebted for the greater part of our knowledge of the rights and privileges of these sovereigns of the land of Wales, for owing to the wholesale destruction of the local records, and the scanty reference to the subject in those of the Crown, the material for the historian is small.

The extent of the territory of the Marchers may be estimated by that of the dominions of Llewelyn annexed by Edward I, for the government of which were framed, in 12 Edward 1, a set of regulations called the Statute of Rhuddlan, or the Statute of Wales. By it were ap-

4 *English Law in Wales and the Marches.*

pointed sheriffs for Anglesey, Carnarvon and Merioneth, the old inheritance of the Princes of Gwynedd, for Flint, parcel of the Palatinate of Chester which was finally annexed to the Principality of Wales *temp.* Edward II, and for Carmarthen and for Cardigan and Lampeter, *i.e.* Llanbadarn, by Aberystwyth. To Carnarvon, Merioneth and Flint, certain cantreds and commotes were assigned, of the others it was merely stated that they should have their present metes and bounds. The three South Wales districts included a part of West Carmarthenshire which had been obtained by the princes of North Wales after the extinction of the Welsh princes of the South, and nearly the whole of the present county of Cardigan, the only Welsh county which represents an ancient territorial division, and the only part of Wales in which the Welsh had succeeded in driving back the Lords Marcher. The territory comprised in this Statute remained for centuries what was known to English law as "Wales", ruled by English law as modified by the Statute, and was, until the death of Arthur Tudor, the son of Henry VII, granted by Charter (as was the Earldom of Chester) to each heir apparent "and to his heirs Kings of England"; nevertheless, the charters to towns were granted by the king and not by the Prince of Wales. The Prince was solemnly invested with the chaplet ring and sceptre; to this day the eldest son of the sovereign is born Duke of Cornwall, but he is created Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester. All the rest of Modern Wales not subject to the Statute was the "Marches", over which the King was, by 3 Edward I, cap. 17, proclaimed Sovereign Lord, and which, by 28 Edward III, cap. 2, was declared to be attendant on the Crown of England as heretofore, and not on the Principality of Wales, and under the same term were included the forty-four Lordships which were

added to English counties by the Act of Union (27 Henry VIII, cap. 26), besides the Lordships east of Chepstow Bridge, which were added to Gloucestershire. The Lordships mentioned in the Act amount to over one hundred.

II.

The way for the Statute of Wales had been prepared by the Commission which Edward had issued four years previously¹ (that is to say, after the submission of Llewelyn and before his final revolt), to enquire into the laws and customs of the Welsh districts then held by the King. His father had granted to him in 1254 the palatinate of Chester, *una cum conquestu nostro Wallie in finibus illis, ita tamen quod nunquam separentur a Corona*, and Edward had shown a characteristic desire to set in order his possessions, which were practically the later Principality, with the exception of Anglesey and the land of Snowdon, which remained with Llewelyn. The Commissioners were the Bishop of St. David's and two Norman barons. They sat at five places and summoned one hundred and seventy-two witnesses; it appears from the evidence that even then Welsh law and custom had been affected by those of England. It was the object of the ambition of the Welsh princes to emulate the position of the English kings, and some of their chief nobles had assumed the state of English barons.

The Statute of Wales recites that the Principality, as then remodelled, "the land of Snowdon and other our lands in Wales," which had hitherto been subject to the Crown *in jure feudali*, had then fallen *in proprietatis dominium*; it was thenceforth to be a distinct portion of the realm of England, over which the Courts of West-

¹ *Rot. Wall.*, 9 Edw. I, M. 5.

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minster had no jurisdiction, but justice was to be administered in accordance with the King's original writs and the provisions of the Statute. It is stated that the laws and customs of Wales had been examined by the King, of which, some he had abolished, some allowed, and some corrected, others he had added. The editor of Reeves' *History of English Law*, points out in a note that although the object of the Statute was to assimilate the Welsh laws and institutions to the English, there was not found much in the former which required alteration, and draws the inference that the laws of the conquerors and the conquered were alike derived from the Roman law; he gives instances where the laws of the "Romanized Britons of Wales" could show a marked superiority over those of the Anglo-Normans. In civil actions the Welsh procedure was made by the Statute substantially the same as the English; the Welsh equivalent for gavelkind was allowed to remain, but bastards were debarred from a share in the inheritance; women were to be entitled to dower, in the sense of the endowment of the wife by the husband; and the coheireses were to share equally.

The itinerant justiciary of Snowdon appointed by the Statute afterwards gave place to the Justices of North Wales and West Wales, who held their courts of Chancery and Exchequer at Carnarvon and Carmarthen respectively, in which all pleas of the Crown and the most important causes were heard and determined, and from which there was no appeal to the courts of Westminster. At these superior courts were granted the *mises*, being payments to every new prince on his creation for the allowance of their laws and ancient customs and for the pardon of offences. No shires were appointed by the Statute, but the several groups of commotes were in North Wales, in time, welded into a county, and the Sheriff held his County Courts

after the English manner. In West Wales courts baron were held in each commote by the "stewards of the Welsh Courts". The county, properly the district governed by an Earl, became the shire, the division of a kingdom, and Anglesey, Carnarvon and Merioneth were afterwards called the three ancient shires of North Wales, and together with Flint were soon divided into hundreds, which usually took their form and name from the Welsh commote—the Norman lawyers, here, as elsewhere, applying their own rules to the old Welsh divisions of land. The provisions of the Act of Union for dividing Wales into hundreds is limited to "South Wales" and the Marches.

The Sheriff, who was appointed during pleasure by the Crown, had in each commote a bailiff who later held his Hundred Court. In the monthly County Court the Sheriff heard questions of contract, trespass against the peace, and detainer of cattle, and there was an appeal "at the coming of the justice". In his biennial turn in each commote he tried, with a jury of twelve, usurpations of franchises and certain classes of crime, he could admit prisoners to bail or keep them for the assize, lesser offences he could dispose of. One Coroner at least for every commote was to be chosen in full County Court; his principal duties were to enquire as to death by misadventure and as to the chattels of felons to be answered at the coming of "the justice of our lord the king". There are elaborate provisions in the Statute as to the form of writs according to the English law and as to civil business which could be determined by the Sheriff and jury or referred to the Justice. Questions as to realty were to be tried by a jury, and as to personalty by the Welsh custom, that is to say, "in some cases things may be proved by those who have seen and heard, but where this is not possible the defendant is to be put to his

purgation with a greater or less number of purgators, according to the gravity of the matter in hand." In criminal matters the law of England was to prevail. The object of Edward was to adapt the then form of English local government to the Principality, and it is to be noticed that the administration soon fell for the most part into the hands of Welshmen. From the *Record of Carnarvon*, which has been called the Domesday of Wales, and which contains the extents of Carnarvon and Anglesey in the reign of Edward III, and of part of Merioneth in that of Henry V, it is evident that many Welsh customs had survived the Statute; but the work of assimilation went on. There were no mesne lords among the Welsh, the chieftains' rights were transferred after the conquest to the Prince of Wales. Manors grew up, and the *maenol*, a division of a commote, became in Law Latin the *manerium* and in English the manor, the free tribesmen the manorial freeholders, and the *tæogs* or *villani* the copyholders; the food rents were commuted in time for each class into the tunc pound of silver, which was paid to the Prince of Wales and is still paid in the form of crown rents. The quasi-feudal services of the free Welshmen were continued, but in many cases Welsh landowners had adopted the rule of primogeniture instead of the entail of family land, which, however, like the joint holdings of the *tæogs*, lingered on in many places. The tenure by the *gwely*, or family group (associated originally for jurisdiction and tribute), of land partible among heirs male, was adapted to the tenure by knights' service, and although it was formally abolished by the Ordinances for Wales, both gavelkind and borough-English are still to be found in some Welsh manors. The revenue of the Principality in the time of the Black Prince was over £4,000 a year, but this had greatly decreased in Tudor times.

III.

The law of the Marches, except in such as were in the King's hands, was not so well ordered. It is obvious that in these petty principalities, in a disturbed state of the country, justice and good government were not the first consideration, and in 1472 the Commons, in view of the grievances of the King's subjects in the lands adjoining "Wales", sent a petition to the King, which resulted in the formation by Edward IV of the Court of the Marches, which sat by royal commission with an extensive jurisdiction of no clearly defined limits, and became a powerful instrument in the hands of the Crown, which resisted its abolition until long after the prerogatives of the Marches had been absorbed and Wales had been annexed to England, and when the word "Marches" had become of doubtful meaning.

The members of this court, the head-quarters of which were at Ludlow Castle, and which was the Star-Chamber of Wales, were nominated by the Crown. They consisted of a Lord President (until the Reformation always a bishop) and of divers personages, spiritual and lay, the "Justices of Wales", who, after the institution of the Court of the Great Sessions, were the Chief Justice of Chester and the Justices of the three circuits of Wales, "and such others as are learned in the Lawes and are to be called to Councill when the Lord President shall think requisite." They were empowered to deal with all causes and matters comprised in the letters of instruction from the Crown to the Lord President of the Council. It was in its origin a Court of Equity, but it encroached upon the province of the Courts of Common Law, probably in a great measure owing to the inability of these courts to enforce their decrees. In the time of Elizabeth it had grown

to be an ordinary Court of Justice, and besides mitigating the rigour and supplying the deficiencies of the Common Law, it dealt with all manner of misdemeanours, examined the title to lands, and gave possession thereof, held pleas of debt and detinue, called to account evil-dealing "Tutors", examined witnesses "to remain of record", and punished the vices of incest, adultery, and fornication. It also took upon itself to deal with such questions as the apprehension of Jesuits and Seminarists, the assize of bread, ale and beer, unreasonable excess of apparel and the preservation of game. There were four terms during the year, each of which lasted a month. The Court brought law and order into the Marches; in a report as to the state of Wales immediately before the Act of Union, to be found among the *Miscellanea* of the Exchequer, it is stated that no inquest in Wales would find a gentleman guilty of the murder of a poor man, and that if it were not for the Council of the Marches the crime would go unpunished; also that the council was daily besieged by those whose cattle had been stolen and driven off from one petty Lordship to another. "All the thieves in Wales quake for fear", said Bishop Rowland Lee, the strongest of the rulers of the Marches. The process was speedy, and the fees (at first) were light, but to a litigious people the delight of summoning their adversary to Ludlow, which for many parts of Wales was nearly as inaccessible as Westminster, led to many frivolous suits and much oppression. The easy method which the Council had provided for poor suitors, of bringing cases before the Court by bill and answer without witnesses, encouraged this spirit of litigation, and had attracted a swarm of lawyers who defeated the original object of the Court. But the Court was too useful to the Crown to permit of its abolition, although the creation of the

itinerant Justices of the Great Sessions had rendered it no longer useful to the people.

The "Act for re-continuing the liberties in the Crown (27 Henry VIII, cap. 24), a general act for this realm, Wales and the Marches of the same," had discredited the Marchers by enacting that no one could pardon treason and felony or appoint justices but the King, and that all "original and judicial writs" were to be in the King's name ("the Justice of the County Palatine of Chester and Flint" was excepted from the Act). The Act of Union of the same year had annexed their Lordships to the different Shires, yet by the Act for the "Ordinances for Wales" (34 and 35 Henry VIII, cap. 26), the President and Council of the Marches were retained, with power "to hear and determine such causes and matters as shall be assigned to them by the King's Majesty as heretofore hath been accustomed."

In the troubles after the Reformation, Wales, from the nature of the country and the multitude of its jurisdictions, had become the refuge for the disaffected. Various criminal acts were passed, but shortly afterwards the whole country was incorporated with England, "it being thought a better policy to adopt that people into the same form of government as the English, than by keeping them under more severe and strict laws to hazard the alienating of their affections." The same troubles had caused the establishment of the President and Council of the North and the President and Council of the West, both of which were even in those times objected to as illegal. A subsidy act of 32 Henry VIII, cap. 50, provides for the "raising a President and Council in the Western Parts having like authority with the Council of Wales and the North".

By the like stretch of the royal prerogative which had

created these unconstitutional councils, it was provided in the "Ordinances for Wales" that the King's most royal majesty might alter anything contained in that statute, and make new laws and ordinances for Wales "as to his most excellent wisdom and discretion should be thought convenient," and that these alterations and new enactments, if made in writing under his Highness' great seal, should have the same force and effect as if they had been made by authority of Parliament. It was afterwards argued that this power was limited to Henry VIII, and that the most excellent wisdom and discretion did not descend with the Crown; but the Tudors wore that crown pretty firmly on their heads, and the clause was not repealed until 21 Jac., cap. 10, which recites that the laws ordained for Wales are for the most part agreeable to those of England, and are obeyed with "great alacrity", and that after so great a quiet any further change or innovation might be dangerous.

James I yielded to the petition of the Commons on this point; but another grave constitutional question was not so easily settled. So far as Wales was concerned the Court of the Marches claimed, and was allowed, a concurrent jurisdiction with the newly appointed Court of Great Sessions, but it also claimed jurisdiction over the four bordering counties of Worcester, Gloucester, Hereford and Shropshire, as parcel of the ancient Marches of Wales, and this brought them into collision with the Courts of Westminster. These counties had been subjected to the Court before the Act of Union and were afterwards included in the letters of instruction from which certain places were from time to time omitted on petition to the Crown, but by 26 Henry VIII, cap. 11, the three last counties, as then constituted, were clearly distinguished from the Marches. These letters were

addressed, as before, to the Council of Wales and the Marches. "Wales" had been defined, and it was contended by the Crown that the "Marches" were now represented by the English shires, to which some of them had been added, that it was expedient that the inhabitants of both sides of the border should be subject to the same civil law, and that the powers of the Council rested not on statute but on the royal prerogative. It was alleged on the other side that the extraordinary powers vested in the Council were intended to supplement and not to supersede the Common Law, that they had no definite rules of procedure, that they put prisoners to torture in cases of treason and felony, and that they were in great measure dependent on fines imposed for offence and contempt of court and upon fees ascertained by custom, of which custom the lower officials were the interpreters. In Trin. Term, 2 Jac., one Farley sued for a habeas corpus in the King's Bench; Lord Zouch (then President of Wales and the Marches) submitted the case to the King in council, who referred it to the judges, who decided that the four counties were not within the jurisdiction. Lord Zouch resigned, "and yet" says Coke (who was one of the judges) "the commission was not reformed at all points as it ought to have been."

In the instructions to Lord Eure, the President in 1607, the extraordinary criminal powers were confined to Wales, but the Council was empowered to hear and determine matters of debt and trespass on the English and Welsh side under £10, for such of the poorer sort as were not fit to be compelled to go to Westminster. In 1608 the question again came before the Privy Council; the decision was not published, but was apparently not in favour of the Crown. In the instructions to Lord Compton, the President in 1617, the civil jurisdiction on

the English and Welsh side in purely personal actions was limited to £50, concurrently with the Common Law courts, but extended to any amount when the poverty of the plaintiff was certified. Full equitable jurisdiction was also granted, and the salaries remained charged on the fines and fees. The agitation to release the "four shires in the Marches of Wales" continued during the next year, and a bill was brought in upon a report of a committee of the Commons in 16 Car., and passed both houses, but never received the royal assent. The matter dropped during the Commonwealth and was not revived at the Restoration, but immediately after the Revolution the movement against the Court was renewed, and a petition for its abolition from ten thousand inhabitants of the towns and parishes in Wales was presented to Parliament. In it was given a new suffrage to the litany, "From plague, pestilence, and the name of Ludlow Court, good Lord deliver us." In the evidence taken by the Lords' Committee in 1689, it was stated that the Court cost the Crown £3000 a year, that the judges were judges of the law as well as of the fact, that the trial was not by jury but by "English bill", that there was no appeal from its decisions, that the costs in the abundant small actions were excessive, that actions of trespass, damage and small debt were usually brought there, and that several counties had got released by Charles II from "pertaining to the Court". Sir John Wynne gave it in evidence that land in Wales was two or three years' purchase the worse because of the Court. Evidence was also given in favour of the continuance of the Court. But the result was that 1 Will. and Mary, cap. 27, abolished altogether "the Court before the President and Council of the Marches in Wales", as contrary to the Great Charter, the known laws of the land, and the birthright of the subject, and declared that the

matters determinable in that Court could have sufficient redress in the ordinary courts of justice.¹

IV.

Yet it was not in the Court of the Marches but in the courts of the Lords Marchers themselves that justice was for many centuries administered for the greater part of Wales. Of the power of the Lords Marcher, many of whom sat in Parliament, no better evidence can be given than the ostentatious way in which their liberties were reserved in various Statutes, even in some in which those liberties were practically taken away. Some of the greatest of the English nobles held Lordships in the Marches; in the reigns of Edward II and III, twenty-one Lords Marcher sat among the Barons in Parliament.

Even under Mary they were still strong enough to obtain the passing of the "Act to confirm the liberties of the Lords Marcher of Wales" (1 and 2 Philip and Mary, cap. 15), which provided that the moiety of the forfeiture by their tenants "for every common mainprise, recognisance of the peace or appearance", which had been by the Act of Union reserved to the lay lords then in existence (the other moiety going to the Crown) should be payable also to "bishops and other ecclesiastical persons being Lords Marchers", and to the heirs and successors of the lay lords, and also that they should have such "mises or profits of their tenants, keep their courts baron, courts leet and law-days, and should have waifs, strays, infangthef and outfangthef, treasure trove, deodands, chattels of

¹ The original documents appended to Mr. Lleufer Thomas' *Further Notes on the Court of the Marches (Y Cymmrodor, xiii, pp. 125-163)*, contain a store of valuable information on the subject of this chapter.

felons, wrecks, wharfage and customs of strangers as before the making of the said Statute."

The Statute-book throws much light on their powers. The "Bill concerning Councils in Wales" (26 Henry VIII, cap. 6), after reciting that the people of Wales and the Marches had been guilty of "scelerous deeds and abominable malefacts", commands the inhabitants thereof upon due summons to appear before the justice, steward, lieutenant or other officer of the court in any castle, fortress, or other place, and gives the right of appeal to the Council of the Marches from the unlawful exactions and false imprisonment of these same officers, to which the Statute explains they are somewhat prone. It also empowers the justices in the English shire, "where the king's writ runneth", next adjoining any Lordship Marcher, to try certain felonies committed in such lordship, and this was especially confirmed in the "Ordinances for Wales."

The Act "for the abuses in the Forests of Wales" (27 Henry VIII, cap. 7) declares that the customs and exactions in the forests of Wales and the Marches are "contrary both to the law of God and man", and instances that if any one is found on a path in a forest without the forester's token, and not being a "yearly tributer or chenser",¹ he has to pay a grievous fine, and if twenty-four feet out of the path, he may lose all the money he has about him and a joint of one of his hands; also that "all beasts and quick cattle" found straying in the forest are confiscated to the Lord. All these customs are to be held for naught after the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, 1536.

The powers of the Earls Palatine were so great that the Crown, when it was sufficiently strong, annexed their

¹ *L.L. censarius*, a farmer at a fixed rent.

earldoms, but the powers of the Lords Marcher were greater. The Counties Palatine were parcel of the realm of England and derived therefrom. Wales was not. *Brevis domini regis non currit in Wallia*, i.e. Wales and the Marches, save only in the county palatine of Pembroke. A writ of error lay from a county palatine to the King's Bench; if any "foreign plea or voucher" arising in a county palatine was pleaded, the record was sent to that county to be tried and returned to the King's Bench for judgment. The Lord of Kemes tells us that the Lords Marcher were sworn to perform covenants as full and absolute princes are, whereas Earls Palatine tied themselves by covenants and bonds as subjects do.

The Palatinates were governed by the laws and customs of England, the Marches by the "*Lex et consuetudo Marchiae*". The invader, we are told, when he won his Lordship, was "forced to devise and execute laws of himself to keep his people in quiet and peace, for there was no higher court which could minister justice unto them". These laws were a mixture of English law and will of the Lord, and in earlier times the latter predominated. The law and custom of the Marches may be summarised as follows:—1. The Lordships were held of the crown of England *in capite*, and the lords appointed sheriffs, coroners, constables of the castle, chamberlains, chancellors, escheators, and other officers. The writs ran in the name of the Lord and not of the King, even in those held by the Crown; it was the Lord's peace, and not the King's, which the people of the Marches were bound to keep. 2. The Lords granted charters of incorporation to boroughs, founded abbeys and churches, and gave lands in mortmain. 3. They had *bona intestatorum* and forfeiture of goods of felons (including everything found in their possession), stolen goods wherever found, goods of

outlaws, deodands, and wrecks. They had the rights of wardship and marriage in respect of their tenants-in-chief, levied scutages and reliefs, all the lands of the lordship were held immediately or mediately of them. By 24 Henry VIII, cap. 9, they were given the forfeiture from butchers who killed "wainlings" under two years old. 4. They had judgment of life and limb, pardoned felons and murderers, "set them to fine or hanged them at their pleasure". 5. They held in their own names pleas of the crown, of land, of fresh force, and pleas personal and mixed to any amount. 6. Such of them as were maritime were admirals of the coast, with the prerogatives of the old *custodes maris*. 7. They could grant out any of their privileges to subordinate lords. 8. They made war and peace with their neighbours at their pleasure. In 1291 Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, complained to the King that Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, who was also lord of Glamorgan and Morganwg, had with the men of his Welsh lordship invaded the complainant's lordship of Brecon. The proceedings are given at length in Ryley; the defendants set up the law and custom of the Marches, under which they claimed rights which were not to be found *extra Marchiam*, and were told that for the public good, the King was *per prerogativam suam in multis casibus supra leges et consuetudines in regno suo usitatas*. The result shows that even Edward I thought it prudent to deal leniently with the invaders. 9. They had rights of forest as above mentioned. 10. The more important of the lords were summoned to parliament as barons by tenure, and it is to be noted that the King's writs for men and munition of war were sent only to the Marchers; those to the new formed principality were sent by the Prince of Wales. 11. The form of conveyance of land was in general as was used in England; in some lordships there

were copyholds after the English manner, and in others, especially in those adjacent to the mountainous district, there was, besides the English court, a Welsh court, in which lands were partible among brothers and were surrendered in court in accordance with the old Welsh custom, and in which the rents and services differed from those in the Englishry. These Welsh courts appear to have become more frequent after the English plantations of the first settlers had died out; many of these had married Welsh women, and their children became Welsh, and more Welshmen came in. The Lords, following the example of Edward I, permitted "certaine pointes of the old Welsh lawes which were nothing noysome to the lords nor repugnant to the lawe of Englande"; these "pointes" were afterwards held to be particular customs of the manors. 12. The division of land was into knights' fees, ploughlands and oxlands, although the forms of the old Welsh cantred and commote were sometimes maintained. The dimensions of the acre in the Englishry and Welshry were not the same.

The high court of the Lord was usually held in the castle, a necessary adjunct to a March, and the seneschal or other presiding officer was the judge and not the suitors as in the old county courts and courts baron. It was a court of record, and transacted all the criminal and civil business of the Lordship; in it were collected all the fines and dues to the Lord, and from it there was no appeal.

The tenure of the Lords Marcher was to guard their castles (this was enforced by 2 Henry IV, cap. 18), and also in some cases the sea coast, and to supply the King with "men and munition" against his enemies.

After the death of a Lord Marcher the King's writ was sometimes sent to the escheator of the shires of Glou-

cester, Hereford, Salop, and Worcester, who was also escheator of the Marches, who held an *inquisitio post mortem* locally as to the tenure and value of the lordship. We do not find any enquiry, as in England, as to the dues to the Crown; the object usually was to ascertain whether the King might take the lordship. That the King had no right of wardship in the Marches, *ubi brevia Regis non currunt*, was recognised in the Statute *Prerogativa Regis* (17 Edward II, Stat. 1). The King's court also tried any question as to the title of the lordship itself, which was for this purpose supposed to be within the English county next adjoining (much as in a famous case Minorca was presumed to be in the ward of Cheap), also "for want of a superior" it tried any dispute between two Lords Marcher and sometimes enquired by *quo warranto* as to the claims of the Marchers. In ecclesiastical matters, as the court of the Lord could not make process to the bishop, the King's Bench issued a writ to send the record up, and the matter was then dealt with.

The Welsh bishops, so far as their dioceses lay in the Marches, were also Lords Marcher, as were also other ecclesiastical personages, especially the Knights Hospitalers, who held much property in Wales. These spiritual Marchers did not obtain their rights by conquest but from the necessity of the case, "for otherwise their tenants and people must have lived lawless and without government"; but they were in many cases confirmed by grants from the Crown, and the invaders respected the lands of spiritual men, even if they were Welshmen. The bishops of St. David's led their "subjects" to war with the shrine and relics of the patron Saint at their head; they had the power of life and death; their stewards, constables, and recorders, were noblemen and men of high position; they had garrisons in their city and castle; and as their statutes

show, regulated the price of labour and victuals upon pain of fine and imprisonment.

We have accounts written in the reign of Elizabeth of two Lordships Marcher at either end of South Wales, the Lordship of Kemes and the Lordship of Glamorgan, which give us some idea of their state and position.

The Lordship of Kemes, which was conquered by Martin of Tours in the reign of William Rufus, consisted of the Domain and the Service. The Domain included the Lord's castle at Newport with four manors annexed, divers farms and houses, rents and suit of tenants, mills, fishings, woods and forests, perquisites of court and casualties and patronage of churches. The Service was divided into the High Fee, eight knights' fees and seventeen ploughlands held immediately of the Lord, and the Mean Tenure of the same number of fees and ploughlands held as sub-ordinate manors; there were also annexed to the Lordship four other manors as "ornaments and for the more dignity thereof," and four corporate towns; the whole was under the jurisdiction of the High Court of Kemes.¹

The great lordship of Glamorgan, the lowland portion of which was conquered by Robert Fitzhamon in the reign of William Rufus, consisted of—1. the *Corpus Comitatus*, some thirty-six knights' fees which did suit to the castle of Cardiff, where the Sheriff held his monthly court and the Chancellor his court on the day following for "matters of conscience." 2, The Members, the twelve chief lordships, which had like regal jurisdiction, except that a writ of error lay to the Chancery of Glamorgan, and that the suitors, and not the presiding officer, were judges. In the hill districts the Welsh laws remained until the end, and

¹ *Owen's Pembrokeshire*, i, 495.

the customs varied as they did in most Lordships Marcher. 3, The Boroughs, both in the Corpus and the Members, which held their liberties by Charter from the Lord of Glamorgan and were governed by mayors and bailiffs or by stewards; and 4, the possessions of the Cathedral of Llandaff and the religious houses. The bishops had *jura regalia*, but *sede vacante* the Lord of Glamorgan claimed the temporalities of the see and the right to appoint to preferments. The chronicler rejoices that after the Act of Union life and death, land and goods, were no longer at the pleasure of the Lords or dependant upon uncertain laws, customs, and usages, of which some part "rested in memory" and were not written.¹

After that Act the Lords Marcher were practically reduced to the position of lords of manors; many customs and usages lingered on, but the law was to be found in the English Statute Book. It will be seen that the Lords Marcher were in theory and in practice sovereign princes. Their powers rested on no grant from the crown but gradually grew up from force of circumstances, and for practical purposes they might have boasted, like the Udalers of Shetland, that they held of God Almighty. Living in a warlike state they were of the greatest service to the English kings in their wars against the Welsh princes, while their castles (of which there were in Glamorganshire forty-six and in Pembrokeshire nineteen) made their position almost impregnable. There is only one instance of their endeavouring to act in a corporate capacity, they (*Marchiones de Marchia Walliæ*) claimed in 1236, against the Barons of the Cinque Ports, to bear the canopies over Henry III and his Queen at their marriage, but their claim *quodam modo frivolum putabatur*.

¹ Rice Merrick's *Morgania Archaïographia*.

Stephen, in his *History of the Criminal Law*, says, in reference to a *quo warranto* brought against Thomas Cornwall in Term Mich., 44 and 45 Elizabeth, as to his claim to *jura regalia* in two lordships, notwithstanding that they had been annexed to Herefordshire by the Act of Union: "The pleadings come to this, that so much of Wales as had not been brought under the Statute of Wales, continued until 1535 to be governed by a number of petty chiefs called Lords Marcher, who may be compared to the small rajahs to whom much of the territory of the Punjab and North West Provinces still belong."

V.

The Statute Book already contained divers Acts intended to bring the Welsh into more complete subjection, and after the insurrection of Owen Glyndwr in the reign of Henry IV a series of enactments deprived the inhabitants of the Principality of all rights of citizenship.

The Act of Union (27 Hen. VIII, cap. 26) 1, united Wales to England; 2, created the new shires of Monmouth, Brecon, Radnor, Montgomery and Denbigh, and made the Marches shire ground; 3, abolished the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the Lords Marcher, saving to them courts baron and courts leet, certain seignorial rights and a moiety of forfeiture and fees; 4, extended the benefit of English laws to Wales and directed that justice should be administered in the English tongue (by 4 Geo. II, cap. 26, it was enacted that all proceedings in the courts of England and Wales should be in English); and 5, gave the Welsh people representation in Parliament. Wales and the Marches had, like the Counties Palatine, been hitherto unrepresented, although in 1322 and 1327 certain representatives had been summoned from Wales.

The Act for the Ordinances for Wales (34 and 35 Hen. VIII, cap. 26) 1, divided Wales into twelve shires, *i.e.* the four recently created and the eight "of long and ancient time"; 2, abolished the Welsh tenure of land; 3, appointed yearly sheriffs (they had previously been appointed for life), who held courts as in England and who by 1 Edward VI, cap. 10, were directed to have deputies in the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas at Westminster, coroners, escheators (to hold inquisitions on the death of crown tenants and to take charge of forfeited lands and goods for the crown), and other shire officers and a limited number of justices of the peace; 4, confirmed the hundreds made by royal commission; 5, continued the Court of the Marches; and 6, established a new court of itinerant justices.

This was "the King's Great Sessions in Wales", of which the judges were the Chief Justice of Chester and three other justices, each of whom had three shires in his circuit. They had the powers of the judges of the King's Bench and Common Pleas and of assize, had a Chancery jurisdiction and held sessions in each shire twice in the year, each of which was to last six days. There are various regulations for their "original seals" for original writs, "judicial seals" for judicial process, and for the officers and proceedings of the Courts. A writ of error lay from the Great Sessions in pleas real and mixed to the King's Bench, and in personal pleas to the Court of the Marches, and after the abolition of that Court, also to the King's Bench. (A *custos rotulorum* and justices of the peace were also appointed as in England for each shire, the number of the latter, beyond those who were *ex officio*, was limited to eight, and this was not altered until after the Revolution. The Act of 27 Henry VIII, cap. 5, had already appointed justices of the peace for the County

Palatine of Chester and the then existing Welsh counties.) The business of the Court of Great Sessions having much increased, and many important cases having to be decided there, an additional justice was, by 18 Elizabeth, cap. 8, appointed for each circuit. The two justices sat together, and when the court was not unanimous the inconvenience was obvious. There was at first much doubt whether the Courts of Great Sessions had any equitable jurisdiction, but the point was decided in their favour by the King's Bench in 19 Car. II. The courts at Westminster claimed concurrent jurisdiction, and in time obtained it. In the case of *Lampley v. Thomas* (21 George II) it was decided that *brevis Domini Regis de latitat* (and *semble* other mesne process between subjects) *non currit in Wallia*, notwithstanding that it was admitted that all judicial process could go, and that it was contended that the High Court had a general jurisdiction, although there was a sufficient court to try the case in Glamorgan, where the cause of action arose. This case forms the text of "A discourse against the jurisdiction of the King's Bench over Wales by process of latitat," in which the author enters at length into the history of the courts of Wales and the Marches and inveighs against the "*custodia marescalli*", the great engine of the encroachments of the King's Bench, which had usurped civil business from other courts by the fiction that the defendant had committed a breach of the peace in the County where the court sat and was in the custody of the Marshall of the court. The editor of the report suggests that it was the interest of the officials of the King's Bench to bring Welsh litigants into their net, and their efforts were attended with success, for the case was over-ruled by *Lloyd v. Jones* (9 George III), where it is stated that actions are every day brought in the King's Bench against a defendant in Wales; and in the same

year, in *Rex v. Lewis et al.*, it was decided that a *certiorari* lies to move an indictment from the Glamorgan Quarter Sessions *per saltum* to the King's Bench, without going through the Great Sessions. Lord Mansfield, in his judgment in *Mostyn v. Fabrigas*, a case before alluded to, said: "If an action is brought here for a matter arising in Wales, you must show the jurisdiction of the Court in Wales. If there is no other mode of trial, that will give the King's Court jurisdiction." The Courts of Westminster were much sought after by Welsh litigants, who preferred them in important matters to the local tribunal, but they were also largely used in small matters where the plaintiff entered his action to be tried in the nearest English county. In 1773, by the 13 George III, cap. 51, entitled "An Act to discourage the practice of commencing frivolous and vexatious suits in his Majesty's Courts at Westminster in causes of action arising within the Dominion of Wales, and for further regulating the proceedings in the Courts of Great Session in Wales," the defendant in such an action tried at the assizes in the next English county was entitled to judgment if the plaintiff did not recover £10 debt or damages. This Act, which has been called "the Welsh Judicature Act", contained various regulations as to the deputies of the Welsh judges, the striking of juries, the return of original writs, and other matters. It also empowered the judges of Great Sessions to appoint commissioners to take affidavits to be used in their courts, and to nominate persons (other than common attorneys or solicitors) to take recognizance of bail; it also provided that certain penalties, given by statute and directed to be recovered in the courts of Westminster, should be recoverable at the Great Sessions.

But notwithstanding this Act, efforts were still made to reform or abolish the Welsh Judicature, the reason of

whose existence had in the opinion of many passed away. Among the five bills in Burke's projected plan of economical reform in 1780 was one "for the more perfectly uniting to the Crown the Principality of Wales and the County Palatine of Chester, and for the more commodious administration of justice within the same"; and in 1798 a select committee of the House of Commons on finance in courts of justice recommended the amalgamation of the four Welsh courts of Great Session.

Another Select Committee was appointed by that House on the administration of justice in Wales, who made an interim report in 1817. Owing to the death of the chairman of the Committee their proceedings had been checked, but they stated that some of the points which called for amendment were—1, the long period of the year during which no recovery could be suffered or fine levied, and the magnitude and uncertainty of the expense thereof; 2, the inability of each Court of Great Session to compel the attendance of witnesses outside its own particular jurisdiction; 3, the necessity of moving for a new trial before the same judges immediately at the close of the first trial; 4, the security of funds directed to be paid into Court depending on the personal solvency of the officers of the Court; 5, the diversity of practice in the different circuits with regard to writs of *certiorari* (by which the proceedings were removed to the court above); and 6, the necessity of judges and counsel remaining the same time at each place on the circuit whether there was business for them or not.

In 1820 the Committee submitted further evidence, but offered no opinion, and in 1821 issued their third and final report. In this, some of the points mentioned in the report of 1817 are repeated, and the Committee bring forward further defects. Each Court being supreme had

in the course of years established its peculiar standard of justice, so that there were in Wales four independent jurisdictions, each containing three counties (one circuit including Chester). The Court could not enforce its own decrees, and defendants frequently and easily withdrew from the jurisdiction. When the two judges differed there was no decision, and there was no appeal except to the House of Lords, and by writ of error to the King's Bench. Writs of *certiorari* were used for purposes of delay, and the trial in the next English county was a denial of justice to the poorer suitor. As the Court was only open for three weeks twice in the year it was not possible to conduct the necessary proceedings in a suit of equity, which was stated to have been "more dilatory and prolix" than in the High Court of Chancery itself. The encouragement to the attorneys, who were easily admitted and were attached to each circuit, the Committee consider to be "highly disadvantageous". The Committee state that the judges, who hold office during the pleasure of the Crown, received no pension, but a salary of £1,150 each (with the exception of the Chief Justice of Chester and his *puisne*, who were more highly paid), and they gave it as their opinion that "minor difficulties might be removed by new regulations, but no right administration of justice could be obtained without such fundamental changes as would amount to a new jurisdiction."

How the Court employed the six days which they were obliged by the Act of Ordinances to spend in each assize town may be gathered from the evidence of Sir William Garrow, a Baron of the Exchequer and formerly Chief Justice of Chester (this last office was always considered a stepping-stone to preferment in England). On Monday the Court was opened, but no business was done; Tuesday,

the Grand Jury Day, the judges went to Church and the Grand Jury was charged: Wednesday, the trial of adjourned issues, the amount of business may be judged from the fact that this was known as "nothing at all day"; Thursday, crown business; Friday, new issues; and on Saturday the court left for the next town.

How far the proceedings in equity had become a farce may be estimated from the fact recorded that with a view to an increase of costs the ancient ballad of *Chevy Chase* was copied into a Chancery Bill and escaped detection.

The Welsh Judicature was the subject of a long and heated controversy and of many debates in both Houses of Parliament. Lord John Russell, in a debate in 1820, said that as the Welsh judges were eligible for seats in that House their posts were looked upon as retainers or rewards for the support of ministerial measures. It was also objected to them that they used their abundant leisure to practice at the bar of the English Courts, and that as twelve judges were then deemed sufficient for England, eight were a superfluity for Wales. We also hear many complaints of the County Courts in Wales, where small debts were then recovered, and which were presided over by the under-sheriff, who was a judge one year and an advocate the next, in the same Court.

The time was not yet ripe for the fundamental changes which the Committee of 1821 had suggested, but a last effort was made in 1824 to continue the Courts and to establish one uniform course of procedure, in which, as may be seen from the books of practice for various circuits, many discrepancies had arisen. This was the 5 George IV, cap. 106, "An Act to enlarge and extend the powers of the judges of the several Courts of Great Sessions in Wales, and to amend the laws relating to the same." By this the business of the Great Sessions was

increased by a provision non-suiting a plaintiff who obtained less than £50 debt or damages in a Court outside the Principality. The Courts were given various powers to extend their jurisdiction and were empowered to hear motions and petitions in law and equity in London when the Courts were not sitting in Wales.

After the Act of Union several statutes were passed as to the administration of law in Wales, others were especially extended to Wales, until, by 20 George II, cap. 42, it was declared that the word "England" in any future Act of Parliament shall be deemed to comprehend the Dominion of Wales. At length the opponents of the local judicature gained their cause; by the 11 George IV, and William IV, cap. 70, the Court of Great Sessions was swept away, two new circuits of the English judges for Chester and Wales were established, Wales became entirely subject to the courts of Westminster, and the Act of Union was completed.

It was reserved for another generation to undo the work of Edward Plantagenet and Henry Tudor, and to inaugurate an era of separate legislation by the Welsh Sunday Closing Act, 1881.

For the subject of this essay reference is made to the following works:—

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- Ryley, *Placita Parliamentaria*, 74, 78 and 80.
- Rymer, *Fœdera*, H. i, 178 ; ii, Part 2, 171.
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- Shrewsbury Chronicle*, 1819. Letters on the Practice of the Great Sessions.
- Smith, *Leading Cases*, i, 628.
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32 *English Law in Wales and the Marches.*

Statutes of the Realm.

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Vaughan's *Reports*, 395.

Warrington, *History of Wales*, Book V.

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Worcester, *Calendar of Quarter Sessions' Records*, Part I, p. 684.

Wootton, *Leyes Wallicæ*, Ap. 518.

APPENDIX.¹

The state of the Cause concerning the Lo: President and Counsell in ye Marches of Wales.²

p. 1.

The differences³ are fower.

1. Whither a prohibicion lie out of the Kinges benche into the Marches.
2. Whither a habeas Corpus lie into the Marches as to question their jurisdiction.
3. Whither the foure counties of Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, Salop, ought to be exempted.
4. Whither the counsell in the Marches may proceed in any case after Judgment.

The twoe first questions are one in profe, for the assertion for them of the Marches is that they are not subordinat to the Kinges benche but onlie and immediatlie accountable to the Kinge and his privie counsell.

To proue this wee produce

{	matter of Lawe.
	matter of vsage and president.
	matter of policie and convenience.

For matter of Lawe wee alledge

1. That it is a counsell of the Kinges and participant of his prerogative and therefore exempt from the controule of any cort of Lawe. Britton,⁴ lib. 1. "Wee will

¹ The Editorial Committee are indebted for the interesting document contained in this Appendix, and the Notes thereon, to Dr. Henry Owen, the writer of the foregoing Essay.—[E. V. E.]

² This Tract gives the case for the Crown in the proceedings before the Privy Council referred to at p. 13 *ante*. It is taken from *Harl. MS.*, 141, in the British Museum. There is a later copy in *Lansdowne MS.*, 216 (see Owen's *Pembrokeshire* II, pp. 1 and 131). It seems to be the original argument of Bacon, as the King's Solicitor-General, which he has summarised in the Tract on "The Jurisdiction of the Marches", published in Spedding's edition of his works, vol. vii, p. 587.

³ Points in dispute.
⁴ Britton, *Pleas of the Crown*. Introduction, sect. v.

that *our* Jurisdiction be aboue all Jurisdictions in *our* Realme so as wee haue power to geeue or cause Judgements to be geeuen as shall seeme to vs good without other forme of *proces* where wee may knowe the true right as Judge": which Jurisdiction the Kinge exerciseth by his counsell, for a counsell is no delegacion of power from the Kinge but an assistance of the Jurisdiction inherent in the Kinge.

To proue the counsell in the marches to be a counsell of Estate¹ and not onlie a counsell or cort of Lawe yt appeerith by these badges

The oath of a counsellor in the marches is the oathe of a priuy Counsellor.

p.2. They make proclamation for matter of gouerment.

They haue a Seriant at Armes and twoe Pursiuautes.

2. It is subordinate to the Priuy counsell and vppon suggestion that they exceed their Jurisdiction the Kinge by his owne signature hath directed the examinacion of complaintes which sheweth they were not to be releued by any ordinary court of Lawe.

15 H. 8. Hereford and Dolman fol. 12 et 13.²

23 H. 8. Joñ wyn Gruff et Dominus Powys, fol. 14.

There have byn no Presidents shewen of an prohibition or writt of corpus cum causa into ye chancery, ye Exchequer Chamber, ye Cort of Wardes, the Dutche, ye Chamberlen of Chester or Chan-

3. It is a Cort of equitie. Wee grant that prohibitions and writtes of corpus cum causa³ may be awarded out of the Kinges bench to Cortes of *commen* lawe, or cortes of civill Lawe, but not to Cortes of equitie.

4. The intencion of the Statute 34 H. 8⁴ which is proued by twoe clauses.

1. In that it geeueth Jurisdiction in Writtes of error to the counsell in the Marches as to personall accions and to the Kinges Bench in England as to Reall and mixt.

2. In that it geeueth authoritie to award writtes into the Cortes in Wales so it be with the speciall direccion of the

¹ Estate=State.

² The folio numbers in the text refer to the earlier portion of the MS. from which this tract was taken.

³ A writ issuing out of Chancery to remove the body and the record in the case of a man in prison.

⁴ Cap. 26, sec. 113 and 115.

Lord Chauncellor or a priuy counsellor.

These proue a fortiori that no writtes of ordinary course from the Cortes at Westminster shold be sent to the Counsell in the Marches which is the superior Cort in Wales.

celor of Durisme, wee meane writtes of corpus cum causa of ye nature aforesaid.

For Matter of President	In the negative	No corpus cum causa was euer awarded to the Porter ¹ but one in the late Erle of Pembroke's time, which was not obeyed, and this of farleies. ²
		Neuer any prohibicion to the Counsell and fewe to the parties till of late time.
ffor Matter of Polycie	In the affirmative	A certiorarj out of the Chancerye answered only by letters. E. 6.
		An Inhibicion out of the xchequer answered only by letters. Eliz.
ffor Matter of Polycie		The Cort was erected to retaine those counties in obedience and if their doinges be subiecte to reexaminacions and controllmentes by such writtes the cort wilbe made contemptible.
		The Cort was erected for ease of the poore & meane subiect & the double examiniñge of causes wold exceedinglie yncrease charge.

p. 3.

Third question

Concerninge the exemption of the fower Countyes the course of profe on the behalf of the Marches resteth vpon these partes.

1. The King's Intencion in erectinge the Cort.
2. The words of the Statute of 34 H. 8³ which leaue the Jurisdiccion at large to the Kinges Instruccions accordinge to former vsage without determininge either matter or place.

Vis termini,⁴ the propriete & significacion of the word Marches.

Vsage and Authoritie.

Mischeif that wold insue if they shold be exempted.

¹ The Porter of the Council had the custody of the prisoners.

² Farleus or farlies, were money payments in lieu of heriots.

³ Sec. 4; the words are given below.

⁴ See Bacon's Works (as above), p. 587.

The Intent of the Kinge and parliament in erecting & Authorisinge that Cort consisteth vpon three Branches, euery of them prouinge plainelie that the shires shold be coupled in gouerment with Wales.

The first is the quiett of the Contries for because Wales was newlie reclaimed & subiect to disobedience & disorders yt was necessarie to bridle them with the Englishe shires, & so to compound them vnder one gouerment.

p. 4.

It is confessed on the other side that for forces¹ and misdemeanours & installacion of possession the fower shires ought to be included. Whereto wee say that they cannot seuer the Jurisdiction but the lawe must be alike for both. If the word Marches extend not to those shires at all, the counsell can haue noe authoritie there for either.

The second intent is the ease of the Meaner and poore sort of subiectes that they shold not fetch Justice to farre of. Herevpon wee inforce that it was for noe falt or punishment of those shires that they were made subiect to the Jurisdiction of the counsell as is pretended, but a favour.

The like president of a Cort of Equitie erected in the North wher the shires without all question were euer England. Wee alledge alsoe the Example of forren Contries which haue diuers provinciale Cortes of highe Justice, least the subiect shold resort to farre of to the seate of ye Kingdome.

Instruct. 17 H. 8. Art. 1
fol. 22.
Instruct. 1 Regis Jacobi
Art. 20.

The third intent was the erectinge of a proporcionable & fitt honour for the Kinges eldest son which if it had consisted of Wales onlie it had bin but labor et Angustia, as Wales then was, which wee alledge not as though the principality of Wales went otherwise then by the Kinges creacion or that it is not in the Kinges power to Amplifie or lymitt that lieftenantie, but to shewe that the shires were euer intended to be coupled to the gouerment of Wales & not seuered.

11 H. 4. Prince Henrie (after King H. 5) made Lieftenant in Wales & the marches of the Realme of England adioyninge, fol. 8.

¹ i.e., acts of violence.

The wordes of 34 H. 8 are these

There shalbe and remaine a President & Counsell in the said dominion and principality of Wales & the Marches of the same with all officers clerkes & yncidentes to the same, in Maner & forme as hath bin heretofore vsed and accustomed, whiche President & Counsell shall haue power & authority to heare and determine by their wisdomes & discrecions such causes & Matters as be or hereafter shalbe assigned to them by the Kinges maiestie as heretofore hath bin accustomed & vsed.

p. 5.

Before this statute the Kinge vsed to assigne causes in these fower shires as is proued by the Instruccion of 17 H. 8 & the presidentes of that tyme.

And the wordes (of Wales and the Marches) are specified in the statute onlie as places for the president & Counsels residence & not for limitacion of their Jurisdiction.

The Acceptacion of the word Marches

It may be taken

Either in a naturall or vulgar construccion

Or in a legall construccion

ffor the first. Marches signifies Borders, limites or confines & because it must haue a latitude yt is vnderstood of the shires adiacent in any part vppon Wales, all one with the familiar taking it in the example of Scotland where the Marches of Scotland are vnderstood of the three counties which in any part of them ioyne vppon Scotland.

ffor the legall construccion } 1. In recordes.
wee shewe it } 2. In statutes.

In Recordes

- 5 E. 4. Rex concedit *Willelmo Harbert manerium de Kilpeck in comitatu Hereford in marchis Wallie*, fol. 11°
- 46 E. 3. Inquisitio. Elizabeth Talbott tenet castrum de Goderidge in Marchijs Wallie, fol. 7, & this castle was anchientlie & still is in Herefordshire.
- 6 E. 1. A commission to some to heare & determine causes in Wales & the Marches & amongst others the sheriffes of Hereford & Salop are to attend for Juries, fol. 5.

In Statutes

p. 6.

- 17 E. 2. Statutum de prerogativa Regis wherein to the wordes Marchie Wallie is added by way of restraint to the generalty of the worde, vbi breve regis non currit.
- 26 H. 8. Cap. 6. Rastall,¹ Wales 25. There is one place which mencioneth of Lordshipps Marchers & Marches of Wales.
- 18 Eliz. Cap. 18. Rastall, Bridges 3, Justices of peace in ye Counties of Gloucester & Monmouth not following the direccion of the Statute are to be sued for penal- ties before the counsell in the Marches.

ffor the equivocation that the other side would euade by, that it shold signifie sometimes lordships Marchers which were as the batable ground. It is true, sometimes it is so taken but vmpproperlie for that they all laie in the Dominion and principalitie of Wales which extendeth to Seaverne & Dee. But there is an Impossibilitie that in the Statute of 34 H. 8 it shold be so taken, bycause that these Lordshipps Marchers were by 27 H. 8 extincted & made shire ground, part thereof beinge allotted to England and part to Wales, so that in 34 H. 8 there were no Marches but the Counties Marchers.

Besides the word Marches was individuum Vagum, varieing as the boundes of the principalitye of Wales varied in reputacion or as the enemye wonne or lost, for whatsoever bordered vpon the Enemy was the Marches.

Hereford Cittye was reputed in Wales.

- 1 Richard 1
17 Johannis Regis
11 H. 3
- } vide fol. 1

p. 7.

cf^a E. 1 Pleas of the Crowne held in Vrchinfeild in the countie of Hereford before the sheriff as not within the statute of Magna Charta cap. 17, fol. 6.

Diuers citties & townes in those partes commanded to be walled for defence of them selves & those partes from the enemye.

¹ William Rastell's Collection in English of the Statutes from 9 Henry III to 23 Elizabeth, arranged under alphabetical headings (1581). The references in the text are to fols. 496 and 46. Confer.

2 H. 3	}	for Shrewesbury	{	fol. 2.
8 H. 3				fol. 3.
8 H. 3		for Hereford		fol. 3.
11 H. 3		for Bridgnorth		fol. 4.
13 H. 3		for Worcester		fol. 3.

Vsage and Authoritye.

Wee haue a possession of aboue one hundred yeres.
Optima legum interpres consuetudo.

Hereof wee haue infinite *presidentes* & whereof diuers are breuiated fol. 17, 18, 19, 20.

This vsage was not a popular vsage but confirmed by the Kinge & the State.

Instruccio 1 Regis Jacobi artic. { 9. ffor misdeme-
nours
20. ffor matters
betwixt
partie &
partie.

This vsage is referred to *pattentes*¹ to Knight, for Clerke of the signett & Counsell, fol. 15, by the wordes of the statute of 34 H. 8.

This vsage is proued by the residence of the *president* & Counsell which was neuer in *lordshipps* marchers but at Bewdely, Ludlowe, Gloucester, Salopp, Hereford & Worcester.

This vsage & construccion of the statute both are proued by the decree of the late queenes priue counsell vpon the certificat of Gerrard & Bromley,² fol. 16.

The exemptinge of Cheshire maketh for vs.

Exceptio firmat legem in casibus non exceptis,³ espetially beinge vpon a *particular* reason, bycause yt was a countie palantine & fetched not Justice from Westminster.

p. 8.

The Mischeife is the infinite *perturbacion* which will follow by the ouerthrowe of so manye decrees and orders for these threescore yeres, for these shires beinge taken to be out of the statute yt must needes looke backe aswell as forwards.

¹ The letters patent granting the office to Knight.

² Bacon, p. 610, calls them two great learned men, Gerrard and Bromley. For Gerrard, see the articles on the Marches in the two last numbers of this Journal. Sir George Bromley, C.J. of Chester, died in 1589.

³ The quotation and argument are given by Bacon, pp. 598-9.

By these decrees many hold their possessions of lands & goods which nowe shold be avoyded, yea, & the meane profittes recouered in many places.

A multitude of fines to his Maiesties vse haue bin ymposed which nowe shold be restored.

Many haue endured corporall punishmentes which cannot be restored.

And infinite other inconveniences. Quod a consuetudine recedit, licet vtilitate Juuet tamen novitate ipsa perturbat.

The fourth question

Whither the Court in the Marches may in some cases proceed to order or decree after & notwithstanding a judgment at the *Commen Lawe*.

first in case where the cause hath bin decreed by the Counsell in the Marches they may ratifie their owne former decree notwithstandinge any Judgment obtained after at the *Commen Lawe*, for else their whole authoritye were subuerted.

Secondlie Judgmentes that may be avoyded in pays are not of that estimacion in Lawe but the cause may be examined in Cort of equitye.

p. 9. Thirdly where the partie hath not notice of the matter of equitye, at the time when the sute is adiudged at the *commen lawe*, he ought not to be excluded of the benefitt of equitye.

ffourthlie where the Lawe is doubtfull, it were hard that the partie shold be restrained to pitche vpon equitye first & not trie the lawe which if it passe ageinst him then to resort to Equitey.

ffiftlie where matter of equitye ariseth be puisne¹ temps after Judgment there is no culler to restraine a sute in equitye.

Sixtli where the conscience of the partie appeereth to be corrupt, the Cort may deale with the person after Judgment though it stirr not the possession.

Seaventhlie St. Germin in the Doctor and Student²

¹ Later.

² *Doctor and Student*, a dialogue on the English Law, written by Christopher St. German, who died in 1540, remained for centuries the text-book for law-students. The reference in the text should be to cap. 18, and the statute referred to is 4 Hen. IV, cap. 23, mentioned in the next answer, which prohibited appeals from the King's court to the King himself, the Privy Council, or to parliament, and enacted that cases should be tried in the regular course of law.

cap. 8, fol. 31, saith, this statute doth not prohibite equitye but examinacion of the Judgment. And therefore 9 E. 4 In the case of one Younge who had Judgment geeven against him vppon a triall in a forren countie whither he cold not bringe his witnesses, the Chauncellour thought fitt to releuee him.

Answeres to Obiections.

The statute of 4 H. 4 ordaineth that Judgmenes geeven in the Kinges Cortes shall not be adnihilated but by Error or attainit.

Answeres.

The Inconuenience which the statute ment to remedie was that the Kinges counsell pretended to adnihilate & reuerse Judgmenes as appeereth by 39 E. 3¹ which intent of the said statute is manifest by the preamble which maketh mencion that men were putt to answer de nouo.

2. Obiection.

It appeereth by the case of 5 E. 4 (thoughe there were fraude in the partie that recouered) yet bycause there was Judgment he was putt to sue in parlement. And S. Moyle ffynches' [*sic*] that all the Judges tooke the lawe to be that in such a case the chauncellor ought not to proceed.

Answeres.

Circumstances of the cases may be suche as the Chauncellour may think fitt to putt them of to parlement or referre them to the Judges, which neuertheles resteth in his discretion.

Maneria Ducatus Lancastrie infra Marchias Wallie vt in Recordo de Anno in Annum tempore H. 7 et H. 8 ad hunc diem patet

Manerium de Rideley³

Manerium de Tibberton

Manerium de Rye⁴

Manerium de Minsterworth

Manerium de Ellowe

Maneria de { Ashperton

{ Stratton⁵

{ Yarkhill

} In comitatu Gloucestrie.

} in comitatu Herefordie.

Some further profe that ye countie of Gloucester and Hereford are in the marches of Wales.

¹ See 25 Edw. III, stat. V, cap. 4.

² Sir Moyle Finch died in 1614.

³ Rodley.

⁴ Ryelass.

⁵ Stretton.

The Broughtons of Marchwiel.

*CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE
PARISH OF MARCHWIEL.*

By ALFRED NEOBARD PALMER.

MORE than ten years ago I became so interested in the history of the Broughtons of Marchwiel that I set down in order all that I knew, or could learn, of them, with the intention of writing a paper dealing with this family, its genealogy, and its doings. But although Mr. W. M. Myddelton, and Mrs. Pearce of Leamington, were kind enough to place at my disposal certain important particulars relating to the Broughtons which Colonel Chester had gathered, there still remained so many gaps, which could be bridged by conjecture only, that I put all my notes relating to this matter on one side. Since that time, however, much information has gradually accumulated, many conjectures have been verified, and although much that puzzled me formerly puzzles me still, it occurred to me recently to disinter my old notes, and review them in the light of knowledge which has been acquired during the last few years. And it seemed to me then that it might be worth while to attempt again the task which I had once abandoned, if only to afford some one else the opportunity of completing what is now lacking, and of

making a first contribution to the history of the parish of Marchwiel.

2. The account given of the Broughtons on page 385, Vol. II, of *Powys Fadog* is not merely incomplete but inaccurate. That account is headed "Plas Isaf in Marchwial", and identifies Plás Issa with Marchwiel Hall. Now, in fact, the house called "Plás Issa" (*Lower Hall*) was not in Marchwiel at all, but on the western bank of the Dee, in a small detached portion of Dutton Diffaeth. Civilly, of course, it was in the county of Denbigh, but I have seen it described as "*if not extra-parochial*, in the parish of Church Shocklach, Cheshire". The Broughtons now under consideration were of Marchwiel Hall and of Plás Issa, Isycoed. *Powys Fadog*, moreover, identifies Sir Edward Broughton who was living in 1648, not only with his son who was slain in 1665, but even with his grandson, who was sheriff of Denbighshire in 1698. Surely one who will lend a helping hand out of this imbroglío of misrepresentation and error will do some useful service.

3. I do not propose, spite of strong temptation to a contrary course, to go back any further in my account of the Broughton family than is necessary to illustrate the points which in this paper will be presented and discussed. And some, even of these, will be relegated to the pedigree herewith given, and to the notes and appendix annexed.

4. And I shall begin in the text with Edward Broughton of Plás Issa, who with his brothers, Lancelot Broughton, of Eyton, county Denbigh, Francis Broughton, and Valentine Broughton [of Chester], are mentioned on Nov. 12th, 1576. We thus start with a definite date, for which we so often seek, and seek in vain, in Welsh genealogies.

5. The Edward Broughton, of Plâs Issa, just named, was succeeded by his eldest son, Morgan Broughton, sheriff of Denbighshire in 1608, described as of the age of 62 on 3rd Sept. 1606, and as deceased in April 1614. He married before 12 Sept. 1589, Margaret, daughter of Henry Parry, esq.,¹ of Marchwiell, and step-daughter of Richard Leighton, esq.,² of Marchwiell (still living in 1621). It was by virtue of this marriage, that the first Sir Edward Broughton, Mr. Morgan Broughton's eldest son, came ultimately, after Mr. Leighton's death, into the ownership of Marchwiell Hall. When, therefore, Pennant, dating back from 1660, says that Marchwiell Hall was "long possessed" by the Broughtons, we are to understand by "long" less than forty years.

6. Under what circumstances the first Sir Edward Broughton (son of Morgan Broughton) was knighted at

¹ Henry Parry, *alias* Harry Parry *alias* Henry ap Thomas ap Harry, of Basingwerk, co. Flint, and Marchwiell Hall (see the pedigree), directs by his will (12 Sept. 1589) that his body should be buried in the parish church of "Marchwiell", and speaks therein of his son, Thomas Parry (who must have died young), of his daughter Margaret, wife of Morgan Broughton, esq., and of his wife Katherine. He does not mention his elder daughter, Anne Parry (by his first wife Margaret, daughter of Jenkyn Hanmer, of Fenns, co. Flint), who married William Mostyn, esq., of Talacre, on whom was settled Basingwerk. This will is so interesting that I give a pretty full summary of it in Appendix III. Mr. Henry Parry was sheriff of Flintshire in 1563 and 1580, and on both occasions is described as "of Greenfield." Greenfield or "Maesglas" is a Township in the parish of Holywell.

² Richard Leighton, esq., is said to have been second son of Sir Edward Leighton, of Wattlesborough, and in 1620 held not merely Marchwiell Hall, but more land in the parish than any other person. He was not, however, absolute owner, for in 1620 he is described as holding a messuage and lands in Marchwiell *during the life of the wife of Sir Edward Broughton*. Mr. Richard Leighton is said to have been also of Gwern y go, in the parish of Kerry, Montgomeryshire. His monument was formerly in the old church of Marchwiell.

Hampton Court (18 March 161½), I do not precisely know, unless it were that he received this distinction on account of his wife, who, according to one of Miss Angharad Llwyd's notes (kindly furnished me by H. R. Hughes, Esq., of Kinmel), had been maid of honour to Queen Elizabeth of Bohemia. The Queen, we are told, used to correspond with Miss Tyrrell, and sent her full-length portraits of herself and of the king, as well as leaden busts of the Princes Rupert and Maurice, whom she describes in one of her letters as "fine Boyes". Of these portraits and busts, long kept at Marchwiell Hall, something will be said hereafter. Perhaps, moreover, Sir Edward was himself a courtier. In any case I have not much that is new to tell of him, spite of the fact that a large number of deeds, to which the knight of Marchwiell set his hand, has come under my inspection. But one of these deeds, or rather a declaration made by Sir Edward, is distinctly interesting from its reference to Charles Diodati, the friend of John Milton's early life, and not merely to Charles but to John Diodati, his brother. Charles is immortalized by Milton's elegy—the "Epitaphium Damonis", almost the last product of his pen in serious Latin verse. It is known from one of his letters¹ that, in 1626, Charles Diodati was spending his time in the country, happy enough, and wanting only a fit companion, "initiated in the mysteries"; known again from Milton's "First Latin Elegy" (*Ad Carolum Diodatum*) that Diodati was then dwelling "on the western shore of the Cestrian Dee"²; known, thirdly,

¹ *Milton's Poetical Works*, Masson's edition (1890), Vol. i, p. 256.

² Tandem, chare, tuæ mihi pervenire tabellæ,
Pertulit et voces nuncia charta tuas;
Pertulit occidua Devæ Castrensis ab orâ
Vergivium prono quâ petit amne salum", etc.

from the "Sixth Latin Elegy", that he was, in December 1629, staying in the country (*Ad Carolum Diodatum, rure commorantem*); known, lastly, from one of Milton's letters,¹ that his friend was, in September 1637, still staying "among those hyperboreans". Dr. Masson has also recorded the "tradition"² that Charles Diodati had settled as a physician somewhere near Chester, or at any rate in the North. But it is not known precisely where he lived, and indeed this period of Diodati's life is so obscure that even Dr. Masson, with all his marvellous industry, has been unable to throw much light upon it. Under these circumstances, any additional information, or even hint of information, is not without value. It appears then that the notorious Collins and Fenn (who, 8th Dec., 7th year Charles I, obtained an enormous grant of Crown rights in Wales), sold on 4 April 1633, to Robert Evans, esq., of the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields, Middlesex, five parcels of meadow called "the Receiuo" Meadow" and those 3 acres of Meadow "in Coyd euan, adjoyninge to a certayne Meadow called the Constables Meadow", in which Sir Edward Broughton had a leasehold interest. These meadows are declared to be "in the charge of the baylifs of Cobham Almor and Cobham Iscoyd", two manors between Holt and Wrexham, but nearer the first than the second named town. "The Constable's Meadow" is still so called, and lies in the township of Dutton Diffaeth, a little to the south of Holt, county Denbigh.

¹ Masson's *Life of Milton*, Vol. i (1859 edition), p. 598.

² The same, Vol. ii (1871 edition), p. 81. I see in Vol. i, p. 316, of *Milton's Poetical Works*, that Dr. Masson qualifies this statement thus:—"Near Chester, it has been supposed, but that is only a guess from the fact that he [C. D.] had been in that neighbourhood in 1626, the date of the *Elegia Prima*."

7. It was usual, when Collins and Fenn had disposed of a parcel of lands comprised in their grant to one of their acquaintances, for this latter to resell the parcel to some one living near the place where the lands were situate, or to some landowner who had interests in the neighbourhood. Now we find that, on the 2nd December, ninth year of Charles I [1633], the aforesaid Robert Evans bargained and sold the meadows above described to "Charles Deodate [so the name is spelled in the declaration], and John Deodate," expressly named as "sons of Theodore Deodate, of London, Docto^r of Phisick." Then on the 20th June, eleventh year of Charles I [1635], Sir Edward Broughton and Charles and John Diodati, mortgage the same meadows to certain persons in trust for Sir Thomas Trevor, knight,¹ of Dorset Court, *alias* Salisbury Court, London. Finally, on the 15th July, in the twenty-third year of Charles I [1647],² Sir Edward Broughton, by himself, conveys the premises absolutely to the said trustees to the use of Sir Thomas Trevor, knight.

¹ Sir Thomas Trevor, knight, was the fifth son of John Trevor, esq., of Trevalyn Hall, county Denbigh, one of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer. His son, Sir Thomas Trevor, baronet, was one of the trustees for his father in this transaction, and the others were Richard Prydderch, and Richard Davies, vintner of London. [See Appendix, notes 5 and 6.]

² Charles Diodati, as is now known, died in August 1638, his brother John surviving him. But does it not appear as though John himself were dead before 15 July 1647, he not being a party to the release of that date? In that case, Colonel Chester's identification of him with the John Diodati of London, "factor," who was living shortly before Feb. 1684, must have been mistaken (see *Poetical Works of Milton*, Masson's edition, vol. i, p. 328). But I should be sorry to pit any notion of mine against the opinion of such a genealogist as Colonel Chester, and the omission of John Diodati's name from the release of 1647 may, perhaps, be explained on some other supposition than that of his being then dead.

8. Now does it not look likely that, in 1633, and perhaps in 1635, Charles and John Diodati were living in or near Holt? This town is actually "on the western shore of the Cestrian Dee." So also, I may add, was Plás Issa, one of Sir Edward Broughton's two mansions. Nor was Trevalyn Hall, the seat of the Trevors, very far distant from that stream, on the western side of it. Chester, on the other hand, and all but a small part of Cheshire, are on the east of Dee. In any case, the association of the two brothers, first with the purchase and then with the mortgage of the lands named is of especial interest. They appear to have acted as the "go-betweens" of the first Sir Edward Broughton and of Sir Thomas Trevor, and were evidently well-known to both, and I please myself with speculating whether when, on 13th Dec. 1629, Charles Diodati was spending his time so merrily at some country mansion that he had little leisure for the Muses, he was not staying at Plás Issa, at Marchwiell Hall, or at the beautiful Elizabethan house of the Trevors of Trevalyn.

9. It is most unfortunate that in "the declaration" which I have seen, the terms and effects of earlier deeds relating to the meadow-lands in point are recited with such tantalizing brevity. If we could get hold of those earlier deeds, we may be pretty certain that we should find given therein, not merely the place of residence, but the "occupation" of Charles and John Diodati, and conjecture would be at an end. Those deeds ought now to be in the possession of one or other of the heirs of the Trevors, and may yet be discovered. I must not omit to add that the declaration, a summary of which has been given above, was found by me at Erddig Hall, near Wrexham, the seat of Philip Yorke, esq., and is now carefully preserved by him in one of his cabinets. I give an exact copy of the deed in Appendix IV.

M.
nd
ne

(2) Henry Parry, esq., of Marchwiell and Basingwerk, died before 7 Feb. 1589-90 — Katherine, d. of Wm. Mostyn, esq., of Mostyn (mar. first Edward Dymock, gent., of Penley) second wife of Henry Parry — (3) Richard Leighton, esq., of Marchwiell, living in 1621, mar. to Katherine Parry, widow, before March 1609-10

Margaret, heiress of Marchwiell; living 1613, " 6 Apr. 1660

Thomas Parry, living 12 Sept. 1589; died without issue



10. Coming back from this excursion, I should like to make a few observations on the annexed pedigree. Some years ago I had lent me an old genealogy of the Broughtons of Plâs Issa and Marchwiell, the edges of which were frayed away, and the words and names, in many places, quite illegible. This genealogy, wherever I was able to test it, was found correct. Therefore, in the first draft of the pedigree constructed by me, all the gaps were filled in, with due acknowledgment, from this old genealogy. But on submitting the pedigree, so composed, to H. R. Hughes, esq., of Kinmel, he largely extended it, firstly, from a Hengwrt MS., written between 1632 and 1662, and secondly, "from two apparently contemporary MSS." To every entry, therefore, in the pedigree herewith presented, taken from the Hengwrt MS. (of which the "old genealogy" above mentioned seems to be a copy), I have annexed the letters H.S. Those entries marked O.P. are taken from the "two contemporary copies." The contributions of the late Colonel Chester are indicated by the letters C.C., while "M." stands for W. M. Myddelton, esq., and "H. of K." for H. R. Hughes, esq., of Kinmel. For all, or nearly all, the rest I stand responsible.

11. Captain William Broughton, of Bersham, the third son of Morgan Broughton, esq., of Marchwiell, compounded for his estate by the payment of £90 to the Parliamentary Commissioners. I owe the following note to Mr. W. M. Myddelton:—"The Dep. Lieuts. of Denbighshire, by Indenture 5 April, 15 Charles I, 1639, handed over to the charge of William Broughton, esq. 150 men that had been raised in the county of D. and to be by him conducted to the towne of Selby upon Ouse neere York." Captain Broughton was, I believe, the William Broughton who, in 1637, was one of the church-

wardens of the parish of Wrexham. Perhaps, also, he was the same that is mentioned in the *first two* of the following extracts from the Wrexham Registers:—

Morgan, the sonne of William Broughton, was baptized the 4th of June 1635.

Elnor fil. Gulielmi Broughton Annæque ux eius 23 die februarii, 1636. [Baptizata fuit].

Robertus filius Gulielmi Broughton Christianæque ux eius 22 die Octobris 1644. [Baptizatus fuit].

If we dare imagine a transcriber's mistake in the name of the wife in the third extract given above, we should probably have a record of the baptism of another child of Captain William Broughton. After the Restoration, the Captain seems to have lived for a time at Marchwiell Hall.

12. I have ascertained that Colonel Robert Broughton (fourth son of Morgan Broughton, esq., and another brother of the first Sir Edward) was living on the 14th Dec. 1658, at Strÿt yr hwch in the parish of Marchwiell. An extract from a letter, written in 1651 by Mrs. Ursula Sontley,¹ may perhaps here be given:—"Owld Mr^{ts} Broughton was praid for in our church [Marchwiell] this day, and the Collonell did weepe very much."

13. Then, as to the "Mr. Morgan Broughton",² buried at Marchwiell, 19 Aug. 1699, his burial is also noted in the registers of Wrexham as having taken place at Marchwiell, and herein he is described as "of Esclusham". He was, perhaps, Morgan, son of the

¹ Ursula was, according to *Powys Fadog*, the wife of Colonel Robert Sontley, of Sontley Hall, in the parish of Marchwiell. In the will of William Edisbury, of Marchwiell, gent. (9 Feb. 1659-60) the testator speaks of his "sister-in-law Mrs. Ursula Sontley of Sontley, wid."

² One "Morgan, the sonne of Captayne Broughton, of Gwersyllt", was baptized at Gresford "November furst 1694". Another Morgan, and another Captain Broughton, are here, of course, indicated.

Captain William Broughton mentioned in par. 11. "The Edward Broughton, of Hatton Garden, in the county of Middlesex, esq.", who was buried at Marchwiell, 18th of May 1713, and the "Edward Broughton, esq.", also buried there, 28th April 1720, were probably sons of one or other of the first Sir Edward's brothers, but I have not ventured to insert any of these names in the pedigree. I have also sheaves of notes concerning various Broughtons of Broughton and Bersham, in the parish of Wrexham, and of Gwersyllt, Burton and Llai in the parish of Gresford. Some of these seem to have been connected with the Broughtons of Marchwiell, but the disentangling of the threads of this tangled skein has proved an impossible task.

14. There is an inscribed slab of shaly stone in Marchwiell churchyard marking the site of the Broughton burial-place, on the exposed portion of which so much of the inscription has flaked off that nothing consecutive, or nothing of any value, can now be read. If only some copy had been taken, and had survived, of this inscription, many doubtful points relating to this family would have been at once resolved.

15. The first Sir Edward Broughton, during the great civil conflict of the seventeenth century, took the Royal side, and was doubtless the "Sir *Edmund* Broughton" who, according to Burghall's *Providence Improved*, was fetched, in October 1643, with two of his sons from his house at Broughton [Marchwiell] and taken prisoner to Nantwich. Besides his brother, Captain William Broughton, his other brother, Colonel Robert Broughton, and his sons, Lieutenant Edward and Major Robert Broughton, were on the same side. But his second son, Captain Francis Broughton, espoused, it is said (O.P.), the Parliamentary cause.

16. Lieutenant Edward Broughton (afterwards the second Sir Edward, and eldest son of the first) was taken prisoner by General Lambert, in 1659, at the capture of Chirk Castle,¹ and immured in the Gatehouse Prison, Westminster, close to the Abbey. The keeper, Aquila Wyke, gent., who held for lives the keepership (which was no mean office), appears to have just died, and left a blooming young widow, of under thirty years of age, and three children. Lieutenant Broughton, himself a widower, was evidently of an exceedingly ardent and susceptible disposition, and fell desperately in love with the young widow. Mistress Wyke seems to have kept him at bay for a time, but at last gave her consent to be his wife, not without conditions.

17. Accordingly, on the sixth and seventh of April 1660, he being then no longer under arrest, by indentures of lease and release, Mr. Broughton, describing himself as Edward Broughton, esq., of Marchwiell, son and heir of Sir Edward Broughton, knight, deceased, conveys all his tenements and lands in the counties of Denbigh, Flint, and Chester, to William Knightley, esq.,² and John Mills, esq., "upon trust and at the only disposition and appointment of the said Mary Wykes in writing, duly attested, shall nominate." The estate is declared to be of the annual value of £550, and free from incumbrance, except the life interest of Dame Frances Broughton in the capital messuage in Iscoed [Plás Issa], being her jointure, late the lands of Sir Edward Broughton, father of the said Edward Broughton. The capital messuage with appurten-

¹ His uncle, Colonel Robert Broughton, was taken prisoner at the same time and place. A Colonel Robert Broughton was Royalist Governor of Shrewsbury on 18th August 1644.

² This William Knightly was evidently either Mistress Wyke's father or at least one of her near kinsfolk.

ances in Marchwiel is mentioned as being in the tenure of Margaret Broughton, widow, grandmother of the grantor, and the only considerations named are "the love and affection borne by the said Edward Broughton to the said Mary Wykes, and the marriage shortly to be solemnized between them". Sir Robert Honeywood, knight,¹ and Thomas Darrell, esq., join with Edward Broughton in the conveyance.

18. It would seem that Mistress Wyke, spite of this evidence of Edward Broughton's affection, still doubted, or affected to doubt, his fidelity, his constancy, his devotion. So, less than a week afterwards, on the 12th April 1660, Mr. Broughton composed, signed, and sealed the extraordinary "Imprecation" printed as the 6th Appendix to the 3rd vol. of the 1810 edition of Pennant's *Tours in Wales*, a document which is surely one of the curiosities of literature.

19. I have some hesitation in transferring to my pages this Imprecation, and yet, were I to omit it wholly, much of the point and pith of what has to be related would be wanting. It will suffice if I summarize the first part of the curse, and quote in full only the second part. Edward Broughton, then, invokes the most awful and terrible plagues upon himself and his posterity "if I do not utterly forbear all rash swearing and all man'er of drinking, and all manner of debauchery whatsoever; or if ever I am guilty of finding fault with anything my intended wife shall doe or say; or if ever I undertake any business, or any thing, how great a concern soever, or small, without the knowledge, assent, consent, advice of

¹ Probably Sir Robert Honeywood, knight, brother to this Edward Broughton's first wife, "servant to the Queen of Bohemia," knighted at Otelands 7 July 1627, born 3 Aug. 1601, and son of another Sir Robert Honeywood, knight.

Mary Weeks, my intended wife, and is to be Mary Broughton when this shall effect; or if shee shall make any request unto me in my life-time, it shall be of force never to be violated by me, although I surviving her, concerning body and soule, life or fortune, children or friends, how unreasonable soever; or if there shall happen any difference betwixt her and me, as there hath been betwixt me and my first wife, then, if I am the cause of it, may all the plagues im'ginable fall on me and all the plagues God can inflict; or if shou'd arise any quarrell, and shee the only cause, yet, when I remember hereof, or shee these vows, I most heartily pass by, forgive, and endeavour to pacifie, and use all the art imaginable to please here [her], and if shee could impose more, I wou'd most willingly doo it, or else, may all those plagues, if there were greater curses or imprecaçons, I heartily pray they may all be powered downe, as the rain fall on the thirsty ground, and upon my posterity for ever; and this I doe heartily and voluntarily, and with serious consideration and premeditation, having taken a long time to consider this; and most readily signe itt with my owne hand, and seal it with my own seale."

20. Nice sorts of marriage settlements these, and casting a vivid light upon the character of these two extraordinary personages! One can easily guess what sort of man Edward Broughton was, but the character of his second wife presents a more difficult problem. I think we should be wrong, on the one hand, to regard her as a mere "Becky Sharp", or, on the other, to set her on too high a pedestal. There was plainly something attractive about Mistress Wyke, and equally plain that she was shrewd, capable, and managing. The probability is that she was really dazzled by Edward Broughton, but, perceiving clearly his faults and vices, took the best means in

her power of winning and weaning him from them. The possession of the qualities of justice and affection cannot be denied her. There *was* romance in the affair, so far as she was concerned, but romance well under the control of sound common sense. But how inferior is this story compared with that (not unlike it in some points) so sweetly told by Chaucer in his *Frankleynes Tale* !¹

21. Accordingly, Edward Broughton and Mistress Wyke were shortly after duly married, and she bore him three sons. Of these, the two youngest evidently died in infancy, and the eldest, Edward, succeeded to the whole Marchwiel estate under his mother's will.

22. It was not enough that Mr. Edward Broughton should settle all his estates on his prospective wife, and promise under the most awful engagements, to obey her lightest whim, but the attempt was actually made to change the name of the more important of his two capital messuages from "Marchwiel Hall" to "Conqueress Hall" (*The Hall of the she-Conqueror*). This name first appears in Lady Broughton's will (20 Jan. 1680-1), and so late as

¹ Here are the relevant passages from Chaucer :—

"Ther was a knight, that loved and did his peyne
In Armoryke, that cleped is Briteyne,
To serven a lady in his beste wise ;
And many a labour and many a grete emprise
He for his lady wrought, er sche were wonne.
.
And, for to lede the more in bliise here lyves,
Of his fre wille he swor hire as a knight,
That never in his wille by day ne by night
Ne schulde he upon him take no maystrie
Ayeins hire wille, ne kuythe hire jalousye,
But hire obeye, and folwe hire will in al,
As ony loveve to his lady schal ;
Save that *the name* of sovereyneté
That wolde he han for schame of his degre."

the year 1749, I find this mansion described as "Marchwiel Hall, *alias* Conqueress Hall." It is not quite clear whether this attempt was made by the husband or the wife, but in either case it is the mark of a tolerably complete subjection of the first to the second.

23. From what has been said above, it will be evident that Pennant made a mistake when he said (*Tours in Wales*, 1810 edition, vol. i, p. 414) that Edward Broughton married the *daughter* of Wyke, the keeper of the Gatehouse Prison. He married, as we know, the *widow* of the keeper. Pennant is also wrong in his statement that Edward Broughton bequeathed his estate to "his wife's brother." He gave it wholly to herself before marriage, so that he was entirely dependent on her.

24. There is some uncertainty as to the original form of the name of Mistress Broughton's first husband. Edward Broughton consistently spelled it "Weekes" or "Wykes", and his step-son is called "Aqualah Weekes" in 1708, but Lady Broughton herself and the later members of the family held this surname to be "Wyke", and thus accordingly I always spell it.

25. The estate, when Mr. Broughton conveyed it to the widow Wyke, comprised Marchwiel Hall, with the demesne lands annexed thereto, one of the two farms called "Strÿt yr hwch", one of the two farms called "Croes y mab", Coed Dafydd, one of the two farms called "Pont y ffrwd", Tyddyn tu uwch y llan, Tyddyn tu is y llan, and other farms in Marchwiel which I have been unable to identify, the Pumrhyd Mill and lands in Abenbury, Carnarvon Hall in Mount Street, Wrexham, and the Lower Hall property, which included lands in Dutton Diffaeth and Sutton Isycoed, and extended into the parish of Church Shocklach, in the county of Chester. According to a fine levied in 1731, the Marchwiel Hall

estate, not including the Lower Hall property, is returned as containing 613 acres, and according to another fine, levied in 1773, *including Lower Hall*, as containing 706 acres.

26. I think there can be no doubt that the hero (or shall we say *victim*?) of this romance was knighted, in or *before* the year 1664 [see Addenda], and so became the second Sir Edward Broughton. He describes himself as "knight" in his will, and is called "Sir Edward Broughton" in the entry referring to his burial in Westminster Abbey. After his death, moreover, his widow was known as "Lady Broughton." Colonel Chester says that "in the record of administration to his estate, 28 July 1665, he is styled 'Kt. and Bart.,' but in subsequent proceedings in the Court of Probate, he is described as a knight only." I should not be surprised if it were to be found that he was designated as a baronet, during the few days succeeding his mortal wound, but that he died before the patent could be engrossed, or the due formalities carried out. The supposition just made cannot be proved, but the acceptance of it will remove all the apparent discrepancies which exist as to his true title. It will reveal, for example, *the excuse* which his son had for assuming the title of baronet. The second Sir Edward Broughton was actually a knight, but only a baronet *designate*.

27. The Wyke family had, it appears, a lease of the Gatehouse Prison and Convict Prison, Westminster, and their precincts. After the second marriage of Mistress Wyke, a new lease was taken out, or two new leases were taken out, and Edward Broughton was admitted to an interest therein, so that when he came to make his will it was this interest which formed a large portion of his assets. For this reason, and because the document throws some light on a very interesting part of old Westminster,

I propose to give a rather full summary of Sir Edward Broughton's will, made 21st Oct. 1664:—

“ I bequeath unto Edward Broughton, my son, after the death of Dame Mary, my wife, all that my house and tenement with appurtenances being between the Gatehouse at Westminster on the west, and the Convict Prison of the Right Reverend Father in God, Gilbert, Lord Bishop of London, on the east, now in the occupation of me, Sir Edward Broughton, or my Assignes, with all Stables, Coach-houses, Out-houses, Barns, Gardens, Yards, Orchards, and appurtenances belonging or appertaining to the said Messuage or tenement which I, Sir Edward Broughton and Dame Mary my wife, hold to us, our heirs and assignes, of the said Reverend Father during the lives of Aquila Weekes, Mary Weekes, and Edward Broughton. To have and to hold the said Messuage, etc., with the said Indenture of Lease immediately after the death of Dame Mary my wife. I bequeath to Edward Weekes, after the death of Dame Mary my wife, all my lease, right, title, and interest of and in the Prison or Gaol called the Gatehouse of Westminster, with all rooms, easements, comodities, and necessaries belonging to the said Prison, or with the same used or occupied. Also the Office and Custody of the said Gatehouse, and all Prisoners as shall be committed to the same, with all the fees, profits, comodities, advantages, casualties, benefits, and emoluments to the said office belonging, made to me and Dame Mary, my wife, by John Earles, Doctor in Divinity, Dean of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter's, Westminster, and the Chapter of the same, to have and to hold the said Indenture of Lease, prison, and premises, immediately from and after the death of Dame Mary, provided that he the said Edward Weekes, his executors and assignes, shall pay to my natural son, Edward Broughton, the sum of four hundred pounds of lawful money of England within twelve months after the death of Dame Mary, and if Edward Weekes, his Executors or assignes, shall neglect or refuse to pay the said sum of money, I declare the devise of the said lease, prison, etc., to my son Edward Broughton. I bequeath to Mary Weekes and her heirs, my lease, right, title, and interest of the Office of the custody and safe keeping of the Prison of the said Gilbert, Lord Bishop of London, called the Convict Prison in Westminster, with the keeper's place of the said prison, also the Mansion house and messuage now erected and built upon the said Prison, wherein Lord ffitzWilliams lately dwelt, at the west end of the Abbey called Westminster Abbey, with all Stables, Coach-houses, Barns, Outhouses, Gardens, Orchards, etc., to have and to hold the same immediately from and after the death of Dame Mary. I bequeath to Aquila Weekes and his heirs, all my right, title, and

interest of or in or to the house adjoining the said Gatehouse on the North side, now in the tenure of Mr. Lewes, called or known by the name of the Dolphin, to have and to hold the same after the death of Dame Mary. I bequeath to Dame Mary, my wife, for the term of her natural life, all and singular the rest and residue of my personal estate, goods, chattels, plate, jewels, rings, household stuff, leases, debts and dues, and after her death I bequeath all the rest and residue of my personal estate to her and my son, Edward Broughton. I appoint, as Executors of this my will, Dame Mary my wife, Sir Timothy Terrell, of Showre,¹ in the county of Oxon, and Sir Phillip Honeywood,² of Portsmouth, in the county of Southampton, knight, and Commander there; and I bequeath to the said Sir Timothy Terrell and Sir Philip Honeywood twenty pounds apiece to buy each of them a Nagg for their care and pains." [Will proved 16 Dec. 1669.]

28. Is there not a certain perkiness manifested in this "will", as though the testator plumed himself that he was not without something to bequeath in spite of all? How often, and with what evident relish does he use this word "bequeath"! Finally, notice how artfully he directs that after the death of his wife the residue of his personal property should go to her *and* his son Edward Broughton, leaving his son the residuary legatee.

29. Miss Angharad Llwyd wrote in 1821, on the information of the Rev. George Warrington, of Wrexham, that [the second] Sir Edward Broughton married for his second wife "a miller's daughter"; and that Mr. Warrington meant by the "miller's daughter", the Mary

¹ Sir Timothy Tyrrell, of Shotover and Oakley, Governor of Cardiff, Master of the Ordnance, died 23 Oct. 1701, aged 84, buried at Oakley, son of another Sir Timothy Tyrrell, eldest son of Sir Edward Tyrrell, of Thornton, by his second wife and own brother to Frances Broughton, Edward Broughton's mother.—H. of K.

² Sir Philip Honeywood. Mr. Hughes, of Kinmel, thinks that this person must be the Sir Philip, of Petts, co. Kent, another brother of Frances Broughton, Edward Broughton's mother, and the fifteenth child of his parents. He could not have been the Sir Philip, *Governor of Portsmouth*, who died 17 June 1752, 98 years after date of Edward Broughton's will.

Wyke, widow, mentioned in the account given above, is clear by his adding that the Browns, of Marchwiell, were her heirs. For Mary Wyke's parentage my authority is the late Colonel Chester, one of the most careful, cautious, and painstaking genealogists of our time. And for the history I give of the descent of the estate, I rely not merely on the "abstract of title" of the property (a copy of which I possess), but also on such contemporary evidence as administrations, wills, rate-books and registers. The Rev. George Warrington's statements to Miss Angharad Llwyd appear to be in this respect, as in other respects (see par. 43), wildly wrong.

30. It seems clear that Sir Edward Broughton after his second marriage lived at his tenement next the Gatehouse, Westminster, and that when he himself died, Lady Broughton and her sons, Edward Broughton and Edward Wyke, still lived there. Aquila Wyke, his second stepson, was resident at Wrexham, probably at Carnarvon Hall, Mount Street (on the site of Brown's Court, immediately opposite the old Mount House), Carnarvon Hall being the only house in the town belonging to the Marchwiell Hall estate. In 1670, Marchwiell Hall itself, according to the hearth tax returns, was occupied by Captain Broughton and Mrs. Anne Broughton, and contained twelve hearths. Although Edward Broughton, esq., "*alias* Sir Edward Broughton, bart." (son of the second Sir Edward by his wife Mary) is described as "of Marchwiell", this does not necessarily imply that he lived there, and I have not yet come across any decisive proof that he did so until after his mother's death, but I may say that Edward Lhuyd, in his account of Marchwiell Parish, remarks:—"Sir Edw. Broughton has a warren adjoining to his Hall." The house was subsequently tenanted (before 1731) by the Rev. Thomas Holland, of Berw, who was still there in 1735.

31. When war was declared against Holland, 22 Feb. 1664-5, the second Sir Edward Broughton joined the fleet, and was engaged in the famous naval battle of June 3rd, when he was mortally wounded. However, he was taken home to Westminster, where he died on the 20th, and was buried (26 June 1665) in the Abbey, "in the north part of the cross aisle near the monument door." [C.C.]

32. On the 20th Jan. 1680-1, Mary Lady Broughton made her last will (which was proved 21st March 1694-5). Therein she bequeathed to her son, Edward Broughton, her property in the town of Kingston-upon-Thames, in the county of Surrey; all her leasehold messuages and lands in Westminster; her right and title in the prison or "Goale" called The Gatehouse there, and in the Convict Prison and Mansion at the west end of Westminster Abbey, and all other her right and interest in her estate, personal and real, in the county of Middlesex, city of Westminster, and county of Surrey, she having purchased the same with her own "reall money or porcōn or patri-moniall estate", subject to two annuities of £40 each to her two "undutifull sonnes", Edward Wyke and Aquila Wyke. She bequeathed also to her said son, Edward Broughton, and his heirs lawfully begotten, the whole of the Marchwiell or Conqueress Hall estate in the parishes of Marchwiell, Wrexham, Holt, and Shocklache, in the counties of Denbigh, Flint, and Chester, and all the residue of her goods, chattels, leases, bonds, and all other her personal estate whatever, subject to the payment of her debts and the satisfaction of her legacies. Amongst these was a bequest of £100 to Mr. Roger Jackson, to whose care she left the management of her estate for the benefit of her children, and another of £50 to "her unfortunate undutifull daughter, Mary Decombe, daughter of my first husband, Aquila Wyke, deceased", this sum

being the sole provision made for Mary Decombe, "she having formerly imbeazled much of my estate." And in case the said Edward Broughton should die without [lawful] issue, then the testatrix bequeathed the premises unto her second son [by her first husband], Aquila Wyke and his lawful heirs, and for want of such issue to her eldest son, Edward Wyke and his lawful heirs. And she appointed her son, Edward Broughton, and the said Roger Jackson, sole executors. I print a fuller summary of this interesting will in Appendix V.

33. It has been repeatedly, but most inaccurately, stated that Edward Broughton (son of the second Sir Edward) was disinherited. But it now appears that Lady Broughton disinherited her two other sons and only daughter, in favour of this very Edward Broughton; these other sons were only to benefit beyond their beggarly annuities of £40 apiece in the event of Edward Broughton dying without lawful issue.

34. If Sir Edward Broughton had not settled his whole estate on Mary Wyke before his marriage with her, he would probably have squandered the greater part, if not all, of it. But his wife not merely maintained his credit and honour, but handed on to his only surviving son a largely augmented property. There is no ground for the outcry that has been made against Sir Edward Broughton's second wife.

35. Mary Lady Broughton is said to have been buried 19 March 1694-5, in Westminster Abbey, but Mr. W. M. Myddelton tells me that the record of her interment there is not recorded in the Abbey registers, and is only noted "in a herald painter's work book in the College of Arms" (50, p. 106).

36. It is evident that there was some litigation during Lady Broughton's life relating to the custody of the Gate-

house prison, for Mr. Myddelton found in Sir C. Levinz's *Law Reports*, 1722, the following sentence:—"And so was the case of Lady Broughton lately, who had the custody of the Prison of the Gatehouse at Westminster, under the Dean and Chapter, who being convicted of a forfeiture before Hale, 'twas resolved by him and all the Judges of King's Bench that the forfeiture belonged to the Dean and Chapter and not to the King." I am glad of this clue, but have not been able to follow it up.

37. The interest which one feels in Marchwiell Hall and its owners is not exhausted when the chief actors in the strange history just described pass off the scenes.

38. There is much mystery attaching to Edward, the sole surviving son of the second Sir Edward Broughton by Mary his wife. Under his mother's will he came into possession of all the Marchwiell Hall estate, and assumed the title of baronet, a title which was freely conceded to him by all and sundry. As Sir Edward Broughton, bart., he was high sheriff of Denbighshire in 1698. He is so styled in the rate books of Abenbury, where he had a mill and lands, and in the record of his burial (14 June 1718) in Marchwiell parish register he is again described as "Sir Edward Broughton, of Marchwiell, baronet." Other instances might be supplied, if those already given were not sufficient, of his being thus styled during his life. On the other hand, in the record of administration to his estate, which did not take place until 1738, he is called "Sir Edward Broughton, Baronet, otherwise Edward Broughton, *Esq.*" I have already suggested (in par. 26) what *excuse* Edward Broughton may have had for assuming a title which did not properly belong to him. He was a baronet claimant only.

39. To all this has to be added that there is not the slightest evidence to show that this Edward Broughton

ever married. In the administration of his will he is, in fact, described as "batchelor." And as this administration is very short I will give it in full :—

May, 1738.

July On the fifth day issued forth a Com'on [commission] to Aquila Wyke, Esq., the Nephew by the Brother on the mother side and next of kin of Sir Edward Broughton, Baronet, otherwise Edward Broughton, Esq., late of Marchwiell Hall in the County of Denbigh, Batchelor, dec'ed [deceased] to ad'ster [administer] the Goods Chattels and Credits of the said dec'ed [deceased] being first
Jan. 1738 sworn by Com'on [commission] duly to ad'ster [administer].

40. Edward Broughton executed a will which, if it could be found, would be certainly most interesting, and might clear up many points on which some uncertainty may still exist. I have had a search made at Somerset House for this will, but no mention of it occurs in the indexes there.

41. There is some discrepancy in the different accounts of the date of death of this Edward Broughton. According to the abstract of title he died in 1719, and, according to Colonel Chester in 1738. This last date I am able to explain. It was not until 1738 that administration was granted of his estate, and Colonel Chester has taken the year of this "administration" for the year of his death. From the Marchwiell register we learn that he was buried on 14 June 1718, and in the Abenbury rate books for the last-named year "the heirs of Sir Edward Broughton" are charged for Pymrhyd Mill and lands instead of "Sir Edward Broughton, Bt.," and in 1724, "Aquila Wykes, esq.," the son of his half-brother Edward Wyke, is charged for the same. Also, it is stated in the abstract of title that Aquila Wyke, on 2 and 3 Sept. 1728, suffered a recovery of the Marchwiell Hall estate at the Great Sessions for county Denbigh. It would be possible to

adduce much other evidence for the statement that Edward Broughton (son of the second Sir Edward) died in 1718, and that Aquila Wyke succeeded him under the provision of Mary Lady Broughton's will. But enough has been said on this point.

42. There is, however, another problem that has to be faced. Spite of the fact that in the administration to his estate Edward Broughton is said to have died unmarried, and that Aquila Wyke succeeded as his heir-at-law, it is claimed that he left at least one daughter and heiress, and, by implication, another daughter or other daughters. Thus, in Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 1846, we are told that "Theodosia, *eldest dau. and heir* of Edward Broughton, esq., of Marchwiell Hall, co. Denb.", married Rees Hanmer, esq., of Pentrepant, co. Salop, whose daughter and heir, Mary, married Henry Strudwick, esq., whose daughter, Mary, married the Rev. George Warrington, of Wrexham (vicar of Hope, Flintshire, 1773-1796, rector of Pleaseley).

43. When the Rev. George Warrington was talking with Miss Angharad Llwyd in 1821, he told her, or she said he told her, that [the second] Sir Edward Broughton married, secondly, "a Miller's daughter" [but see what I have said before, A. N. P.], and that "her influence was such that she persuaded Sir Edd. to disinherit his only son in favour of her daughter [who was, in fact, cut off with £50, A. N. P.]. The young baronet became disgusted, and went to the West Indies with his wife, who was Miss Hanmer, the heiress of Pentrepant. They left *one* daughter, who md. . . . Estwick, esq.¹ They were parents to the late Mrs. Warrington," etc.

¹ Should be Henry *Strudwick*, esq. Here we have evidently a mistake of Miss Llwyd, who could not catch the name rightly in the form Mr. Warrington gave it.

44. According to this account, then, Mrs. Warrington, instead of being *great* grand-daughter to Edward Broughton, of Marchwiell, was grand-daughter to him, and if we combine three of the different pedigrees we get the extraordinary result that Edward Broughton and his grandson, Henry Strudwick, married the same woman!

45. There is not the slightest reason to suppose that there has been any wilful misrepresentation here on the part of any one, but only that sort of mistake which is so easy to persons unpossessed of the critical temperament. There is no doubt some basis of truth in all these stories, but they are so muddled up that it is not only impossible [for me at any rate] to sift them, but even to make any sort of use of them.

46. The constant insistence on the disinheriting by the second Sir Edward Broughton of his only [surviving] son becomes unintelligible when we know that this son, Edward, actually came into full possession, although under his mother's will, of all his father's estates. And, if it be said that the son Edward, who was disinherited, was the son of Sir Edward's first wife, Alice, then we have to assume that Sir Edward had two sons, each bearing at the same time exactly the same name,¹ and each a "young baronet."

¹ It is right to say that there is some contemporary evidence for the statement that there were two brothers, each named Edward Broughton. Mr. Hughes, of Kinmel, calls my attention to the following obituary notice in the *Historical Register Chronicle*, which is the chronological diary to the *Historical Register*, 25 vols., 8vo, London, 1714-38:—

"Broughton (or Braughton) Mary (Mrs.), relict of Edward, bro. of Sir E. B. Bt. Denbeighs. 18-15 Jan. 1730." However, the more this entry is examined, the more evident it becomes that there is some error in it. The statement as it stands, unsupported by any other evidence, cannot be accepted. But it ought not to be ignored or suppressed.

47. All this, however, is but one example of the sort of stuff with which the historian of the later Broughtons of Marchwiel has to deal. One is enveloped in an atmosphere of "hud a lledrith", of fantasy and illusion, of perverted and hopelessly entangled imaginations, in which nothing is what it seems, and everything appears in the guise of something else. Fortunately the path is fairly straight, and no one who takes pains and has the instinct of direction can wholly miss it. To drop metaphor, the actual evidence, as it is contained in deeds, wills, settlements, registers and rate books, is perfectly clear and consistent, and corresponds with what is otherwise known. What else is still entangled may yet be made plain by following the same method, or by some chance discovery.

48. Aquila Wyke, of Marchwiel Hall, grandson of Mary Lady Broughton, is also described as of Llwyn Egryn, near Mold, an estate which he owned. I do not know how he came into possession of it, but I do know that he was continually mortgaging and re-mortgaging his Denbighshire property, and always hard up for money.

49. When Aquila Wyke died without issue, the Marchwiel Hall and Llwyn Egryn estates went to Stephen Brown, the husband of his sister Martha, whose son, Charles Brown, married his cousin, the daughter of another sister of Aquila Wyke. Thus, until 1795, Marchwiel Hall still remained in the possession of persons who had the blood of the "Cwncweres" in them.

50. I think it must have been his Mr. Charles Brown, rather than his father, Mr. Stephen Brown, of whom "Nimrod" ¹ in his *Life and Times* thus writes:—

"There was a very extraordinary character residing in Marchwiel parish, of whom an anecdote or two will not

¹ Charles James Apperley, in *Fraser's Magazine*, April 1842.

come amiss. This was a Mr. Brown, who lived at what is called Marchwiél Hall, a gentleman of good fortune and of a naturally kind disposition, notwithstanding the fact of his having been known in the neighbourhood (near London) where he had previously resided as "Bloody Brown." The origin of the appellation was this. His garden had been frequently robbed of much of its choicest fruit, and he, being an old soldier—having served at the siege of Havanna, of which he gave a most wonderful and amusing account—was not one to be trifled with on such occasions; consequently, he was determined to put a stop to the depredations to which he had been subject. He applied to a dissecting-room in London, and obtained the leg of a human being, fresh cut from the body, on which he put a stocking and a shoe, and then suspended it in a man-trap over his garden wall. The act obtained him the soubriquet I have mentioned, but his fruit was afterwards safe.

The following trait in his character was related to me by Mr. Strong [the Rev. Samuel Strong, rector of Marchwiél], who was one of the executors under his will. Four letters, marked 1, 2, 3, and 4, were found among his papers, three of them written by himself to some noble lord, whose name has escaped me. They were to the following effect:—

No. 1. "My lord, I did myself the honour to write to your lordship on the . . . instant. I fear my letter may not have reached your lordship's hands."

No. 2. "My lord, I had the honour to write to your lordship on the . . . ult., and am surprised that your lordship has not acknowledged the receipt of that, as well as of a former letter, should it have reached you."

No. 3. "My lord, I have had the honour to write two letters to your lordship, to neither of which you have

thought proper to reply. Unless I receive an acknowledgment of either one or the other of them, *in a week from this time*, you will hear from me in that language which one gentleman uses towards another when he considers himself insulted."

No. 4. His lordship's answer, pleading parliamentary occupation.

51. The great grandson of Mary Wyke was evidently a man who would stand no nonsense.

52. The Rev. George Warrington (who must be taken to be a wholly trustworthy authority for all matters within his own knowledge and experience) told Miss Angharad Llwyd in 1821 that Mr. Brown [obviously Mr. Charles Brown] melted down the leaden busts of Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice, while the portraits of the king and queen of Bohemia (see par. 6) were dispersed at the sale at Marchwiel Hall which had taken place "about 30 years" before. Mr. Brown died at Bath 10 July 1795, and in 1799 is described as "formerly of Llwynegryn, in the parish of Mold, afterwards of Carson, in parish of Godstone, Surrey, and late of Reigate, Surrey."

53. From the sale of household effects at Marchwiel Hall must be distinguished the sale of the estate itself, which seems to have taken place somewhat later. I once saw a catalogue of this sale, but unfortunately, although the day of the month—31st of May—was given, the year was omitted. For the purposes of the sale, the estate was divided into six lots. Part of the mansion (with coach-house, stables, lawn, and gardens) was stated to be in the possession of the owner, and could be entered upon at pleasure. The remainder of the mansion was occupied as a farm-house, and was held, with orchard, yard, and lands directly appurtenant thereto, at an annual rent of £166. Lot 6 comprised a "handsome new built dwelling-house

called Lower Hall, situate, *if not extra-parochial*, in the townships of Dutton Diffeth and Shocklach", a small tenement called Parry's Tenement, and 157 acres of land thereto belonging, mostly pasture and meadow, on the banks of the Dee, in the occupation of Mr. William Parsonage, under a lease for four lives, at an annual rent of £177, "worth £300 a year". Lord Kenyon, Mr. Richard Birch, Mr. John Edgworth, and Mr. Thomas Parsonage were among the purchasers, but the Hall itself, its demesne lands, and various detached parcels, were still unsold at the beginning of 1799. However, on March 24, 1801, Mrs. Lucy Brown, widow, and second wife of Charles Brown, esq., sold Marchwiell Hall and the lands comprised in Lot 1 of the catalogue, containing 177½ acres, and two pews in Marchwiell Church, to Samuel Riley, esq., of Pickhill Hall, for £7,000. There had formerly (in 1773) been a "dove house" among the outbuildings; and in the same year "a building adjoining" the Hall, "called the Gate House", a name curiously reminiscent of the old Gate House Prison in Westminster.

55. We might conjecture from the name "*Old Marchwiell Hall*" that the tenement so designated represents the capital messuage of the Broughtons of Marchwiell, and this indeed is the common belief, *based wholly on the name*, which, however, so far as I can discover, does not occur earlier than the beginning of the nineteenth century. The names of the fields, moreover, attached to *Old Marchwiell Hall* (Trawsdir, Wern, Rofft, Maes gwyn, Maes Madoc, Cae du, Pwll franklin, etc.) are not mentioned in the deeds of the Marchwiell Hall of the Broughtons and Wykes, while many of the names of fields actually mentioned in those deeds still persist, and indicate lands attached to the present Marchwiell Hall. When this latter was built I do not know: it appears to be compara-

tively modern, but that it represents the house of the Broughtons, Cwncweres Hall, or the true Marchwiell Hall, is to me beyond question. "Henblas" (*Old Hall*) is a field with no house on it on the Marchwiell Hall estate, but it was so named and in the same condition in the time of Aquila Wyke, and was among the lands mortgaged by him, afterwards redeemed, and finally included in Lot 1, when the whole estate was put up for auction. I only deal in this paper with the owners of the mansion called "Marchwiell Hall", without prefix or addition.

56. The later history of Marchwiell Hall concerns us very little, but it may be well to add that it was bought in 1826 from Thomas Parker, esq.¹ (the devisee under Mr. Riley's will) for £13,000, by Samuel Boydell, esq., of Manor, in the parish of Hawarden, who sold it in 1831 to the late Townshend Mainwaring, esq., then of Llyndir, for £11,000. Samuel Pearce Hope, esq., of Betley Hall, Staffordshire, purchased Marchwiell Hall and estate from Mr. Mainwaring in 1861, for £13,451, and Mr. Hope's widow, Mrs. Amelia Hope, sold the same in 1882 to the late Benjamin Piercy, esq., for £18,437, the area of the property being then nearly 190 acres. Mrs. Piercy still occupies Marchwiell Hall.

57. One remark I may make by way of reflection. Is there not shown, in the history of the Broughton and Wyke families, how untrustworthy, how contrary to truth, is much that passes under the name of "tradition"? The most careful antiquary makes mistakes, sometimes serious mistakes, now and again, spite of himself, but there are people who seem incapable of telling a story exactly as it

¹ Mr. Samuel Riley's last will was made 24 Sept. 1823, and it was proved at Chester on 19 Dec. following. The above-named Thomas Parker, esq., was only son and heir of the Rev. John Parker, and married (about 1795) Dorothy Cholmondeley, spinster.

is told them, are blind to improbabilities, have no conception of the nature of evidence, and never think of subjecting any statement, *especially if it be once printed*, to due examination. However little interest this history in itself may have, it will at least demonstrate the necessity of consulting, so far as they are available, original sources and contemporary records, and of not allowing even these to go uncriticized.

58. I must, in conclusion, acknowledge my indebtedness to the researches of the late Colonel Chester, and render thanks for the many hints, readily given, by W. M. Myddelton, of St. Alban's, and H. R. Hughes, of Kinmel Park, esquires.

Wrexham, April 1900.

ADDENDA.

59. Referring to Mr. Leighton of Marchwiel, I have become aware of a literary treasure he possessed. In what is known as the "Peter Ellice Genealogies" (Harleian Collection, British Museum, Additional MSS., Nos. 28,033 and 28,034) occurs the following sentence:—"In Mr. Leighton's Card written by Rees Cain of Oswestry, A° 1597, mençõn is made of these Beirdd: vz Gùttyn Owen, Evan Breghva, Grùffith Hiraethog, Symon vychan, W. llÿn, William Cynwall, Rees Cain, Lewis Dwn."

60. In the text, the second Sir Edward Broughton has been described as knighted "in or *before* the year 1664." But I am now able to say that he was knighted at some time between the 7th April 1660 and 8th Nov. 1661.

61. The son, Edward, of the second Sir Edward Broughton of Marchwiel was one of the deputy lieutenants for county Denbigh in 1714, and was then officially described as "Sir Edward Broughton, *bart.*"

APPENDIX I.

SUMMARY OF WILL OF JOHN MOSTYN.¹

March 1609-10.—Last will of John Mostyn, of parish of "Kilken", county of flint to my uncle Roger Mostyn the forty shillings he oweth me my brother, Sir Thomas Mostyn, knt. . . . to my sister Katherine Leighton "my chaine of gould", to Anne Broughton daughter to Morgan Broughton, esq., all the sheep I have at Bangor in the custodie of John Hanmer, of Ruyton, gent., and half a dozen of heyffers of three years ould, and six kine, etc. to my nephew, William Dymock, esq., the parcels of land called dol gwernhescog, kae newydd, gwerglodd kae newydd and all my lands in gwerglodd hir in the township of Sesswick, being "coppehould landes," to Edward Broughton, son and heir of Morgan Broughton, esq., the lands some time in tenure of dauid ap John ap Jenkyn "in leangth from the Lande called kae r scubor on thone ende and the Lande called kae rhwng y ddwyffordd in the other end, and in bredth betwene the Lande called yr Acre yslaw y ffordd on the one side and the heigh waye that leadeth from Bangor to the Pymrhydd", "being coppehould landes". "My well beloved Nephew Sir Roger Mostyn, knt., whom I appoint my sole executor."

¹ John Mostyn, second son of William Mostyn of Mostyn, esq. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Roger Decca, and widow of the John Hanmer named in the will, and died without offspring. He is described in 1617 as deceased. His second sister was Margaret, wife, first, of Wm. Dymock, of Penley, gent.; secondly, of Henry Parry, esq., of Marchwiel and Basingwerk; and thirdly, of Richard Leighton, esq., of Marchwiel. [See Broughton pedigree.]

APPENDIX II.

Indenture . . . Feb. 1616-7 (Summary).—Whereas William Lloyd of halghton, co. flint, gent., John ap John ap Robte goch of Bedwall, gent., and Robte Dycus *als* Robert ap Daid ap Richard ap dycus did enter into a bond of £50 unto John Hanmer, deceased, and Elizabeth his wife, dated 12th May in 23rd year of Queen Elizabeth, the condition being that John Hanmer should quietly occupy those clausures of land called y weirgloth newith, y weirgloth perllan, y kochdyr, and the fourth lieth within a meadow called y weirgloth hiyr. And whereas Sydney Ellis, of Pickhill, gent., likewise entered into a bond of £100 to John Mostyn of Sesswicke, gent., deceased, and *the said* Elizabeth his then wife, dated 8 March 45th (?) year of Queen Elizabeth. And whereas said John Mostyn, surviving said Elizabeth, did by his last will dated . . . March 1609, give to Edward Broughton, gent., son and heir of Morgan Broughton, esq., amongst other things the said bonds, Now the said Edward Broughton, etc.

APPENDIX III.

ABSTRACT OF THE WILL OF "HENRY PARRYE, Esq., of Marchwiell, in the County of Denbigh" (made 12 Sept. 1589).

I will my body to be buried in the Parish Church of Marchwiell. I bequeath the sum of forty shillings to be employed and divided among the poorest sort of people dwelling in the parish of Marchwiell. I bequeath to my Son in Law Morgan Broughton, esq., and Margaret his wife my daughter my best gelding with saddle and bridle. I bequeath to my son Thomas Parrye my best gold chain, gold signet ring, and my second gelding saddle and bridle according to my former gift made to him. I bequeath all the messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments which I have in the realm of England or Wales to my said son Thomas Parry and to his heirs lawfully begotten, and in default of such issue to the lawful male heirs of myself

and my now wife Katherine, and in default of such issue to my daughter Margaret Broughton and her lawful heirs, and in default of such issue, to the lawful issue of myself and my wife Katherine. I bequeath to my Overseers hereafter named twenty-five pounds each of lawful money of England. All the rest of my goods, chattels, household stuff, plate, jewels, leases, "ffearmes", store, and substance, I bequeath to my said wife, whom I charge to be a good and natural mother to my and her lawful son, Thomas Parrey, and to provide that he may have the portions, left unto him by my will, delivered and assured unto him before she shall marry again, in order that he whom she may marry shall not defraud my child Thomas Parrey of any thing he ought to have—I appoint my wife sole and full executrix to this my will, and I appoint as overseers my trusty brethren, Thomas Mostyn, esq.,¹ Bennet ap Thomas ap Harry,² and my friends Robert Turbridge, esq., and William Knight, gent., that by their discretion my said child, Thomas Parrey, may enjoy the benefit of all things left to him. Witnesses, Henry Mostyne, Thomas Broughton, William Knighte, John Hughes, Elizabeth Roberts.

Proved 7 Feb. 1589-90.

[I believe it has not been hitherto recorded that Mr. Henry Parry had a son, who, however, must have died without issue, for Mr. Parry's estates went in fact to his two daughters and their heirs—Basingwerk, etc., to his elder daughter, Mrs. Ann Mostyn, and Marchwiel, etc., to his younger daughter, Mrs. Margaret Broughton.—A. N. P.]

APPENDIX IV.

DECLARATION BY THE FIRST SIR EDWARD BROUGHTON, OF
MARCHWIEL (15 July 1647).

TO ALL CHRISIAN PEOPLE to whome this p'sent writinge shall come or it shall reade heare or see I Sir Edward Broughton of Marchwiell in the County of Denbigh knt.

¹ Afterwards Sir Thomas Mostyn of Mostyn, knt.

² Bennet ap Thomas ap Harry of Perth y maen, testator's own brother.

doe send greetinge in or Lord god everlastinge **WHEREAS** Sir Henry Hobard knt and barronet late Chief Justice of his Ma^{ts} Courte of Comon Pleas and Chancellor to his Ma^{tie} when he was Prince of Wales Duke of Cornwall and of Yorke and Earle of Chester, Thomas Morray esq^r secretarie to his Ma^{tie} when he was Prince Sir James fullerton knt Master of his Highnes Wards and Liueries Sir John Walter knt his Highnes Atturney generall and afterwards Chief Baron of his Ma^{ts} Court of Exchequer all deceased and Sir Thomas Treuor knt then his Highnes Sollissitor generall and now one of the Barrons of his Ma^{ts} Courte of Exchequer¹ by theyre Indenture beareinge date the first day of July in the twentieth yeare of the Raigne of or late Soueraigne Lord kinge James his raigne ouer England, haue graunted and to farme Letten vnto the said Sir Edward Broughton all those five acres of meadow called or knowne by the Name of the Receiuo^{rs} Meadow Lyeinge betweene the Landes Late of Peter Roden of the East pte and the Lands late of Raph Broughton and Robert ap Randle on the West pte Now or Late in the tenure or occupation of Robert Puleston esq or his assignes And all those three acres of Meadow by estimation in Coyd euan adioyninge to a certayne Meadow called the Constables Meadow now or late in the tenure or occupation of Richard Eyton gent or his assignes wth all and singular their appurtenaunces being pcell of the Lordship of Broomfield and Yeale in the said county of Denbigh and of the Land of the Manno^{rs} in the charges of the Baylifs of Cobham Almor and Cobham Iscoyd in the said Lordship, except in the said Indenture excepted vnto the said Sir Edward Broughton to hould from the feast of the Annuntiation then last past for and duringe the terme of one and thirtie yeares at the rent of thirtie shillings eight pence as in and by the said Indenture of Lease more at Large it doth and may appeare **AND WHEBEAS** the said Sir Edward Broughton for and in consideration of a certayne some of money to him beforehand payd by the said Sir Thomas Treuor

¹ These were the Commissioners appointed by James I on the 27th January in the 22nd year of his reign for the sale of leasehold, escheat, and demesne lands in the lordship of Bromfield and Yale, so that such lands might thenceforth be held in free and common socage. I believe there had been an earlier grant of the lordships to these Commissioners.

and by the appoyntment and at the nomination of the said Sir Thomas Treuor and for diverse other good causes and valuable considerations him therevnto espetically moueing hath graunted, assigned and set ouer vnto the said Sir Thomas Treuor Edward Harris and Richard Winch their executors Administrato^{rs} and assignes all the said Sir Edward Broughton his estate right title interest terme of yeares and clayne and demand whatsoever of him the said Sir Edward Broughton of in or to the said p'mises or euy parte thereof wth the appurtenances as in and by the Indenture made betweene the said Sir Edward Broughton of the one partie and the said Sir Thomas Treuor knt Edward Harris and Richard Winch of the other partie beareinge date the nynteenth day of June in the eleauenth yeare of the Raigne of our Soueraigne Lord Charles by the grace of god of England Scotland ffrance and Ireland kinge defender of the faith etc may more playnely appeare AND WHEREAS Sir William Russell of London knt and Barronett William Collins and Edward ffenn of London gent. by their Indenture dated the fourth day of Aprill Anno dom one thousand six hundred thirtie three in the nynth year of the Raigne of our Soueraigne Lord kinge Charles for the considerations therein mentioned did bargaine sell and confirme vnto Robert Euans of the parish of Sct Martins in the fields in the County of Middlesex esq his Heires and assignes, amongst other things, the said recited premises as fully freely and wholly in as Large and ample manner and forme as by our Soueraigne Lord kinge Charles by His Highnes his letters pattents sealed as well by the greate seale of England as wth the seale of the dutchy and county pallatyne of Lancaster beareinge date the eighth day of December in the seauenth yeare of his Ma^{ts} Raigne, the said p'mises wth the appurtenances (amongst other things) weare graunted to the said William Collins and Edward ffenn their Heires and assignes for eu^r in fee farme And in as ample manner and forme as the Right hoble Thomas Vicecount Sauage Chauncellor to the Queene Ma^{tie} ffrancis Lord Cottington Chauncellor of his Ma^{ties} Exchequer and one of his Ma^{ties} most hoble priuie Councill Sir ffrancis Crane knt Chauncellor of the most noble order of the garter, Sir Thomas Treuor knt one of the Barrons of his Ma^{ts} said Exchequer Sir Walter Pye knt his Ma^{ties} Attorney of his Highnes Courte of Wards and Liueries and Sir John Banks knt then Attorney

generall to the most excellent Prince Charles, by Indenture vnder theire hands and seales beareinge date the seauententh day of January then last past and enrowled in the Chancery and for the Considerations therein mentioned haue graunted bargained sould and confirmed the same p'emises (amongst other things) vnto the said William Collins and Edward ffenn theire Heires and assignes AND WHEREAS the said Robert Euans by his Indenture beareinge date the second day of December in the said nynth yeare of his said Ma^{ty} Raigne for the considerations therein mentioned at the nomination and appoyntm^t of the said Sir Edward Broughton and in trust for him hath graunted bargained sould and confirmed vnto Charles Deodate and John Deodate sonns of Theodore Deodate of London Docto^r of Phisick their Heires and assignes all and singular the said p'mises as by the said Indenture more at large appeareth. AND lastly whereas the said Sir Edward Broughton Charles Deodate and John Deodate sonns of Theodore Deodate of London, Docto^r of Phisick by their Indenture beareinge date the twentieth day of June in the said eleauenth yeare of kinge Charles for and in consideration of the some of two hundred pounds of good and lawfull money of England to the said Sir Edward Broughton by the said Sir Thomas Treuor in hand payd by the nomination and appoyntm^t of the said Sir Thomas Treuor and in trust for him and his Heires haue graunted bargained sould enfeoffed and confirmed vnto Richard Prytherch¹ Sir Thomas Treuor^r Baronett sonne and heire of the said Sir Thomas Treuor by the name of Thomas Treuor^r esq and Richard Dauies vintener² and their heires and assignes the recited p'mises and euery parte and parcell of them wth the appurtenennces in w^{ch} said Deed there is this prouiso that if the said Sir Edward Broughton Charles Deodate and John Deodate theire Heires and assignes or any of them doe pay or cause to be payd vnto the said Sir

¹ Richard Prytherch. Mr. Hughes, of Kinmel, tells me he was son of Rhydderch ap Richard of Myfyrian, co. Anglesey. He entered Inner Temple 2 Dec. 1596, became barrister-at-law 10 Feb. 1615, Puisne Judge of Chester, 1636, and died 1647. His mother was Margaret, daughter of Piers Puleston, and his wife Martha, daughter of Godfrey Goodman.

² Richard Davies of London, vintner, was also owner of the Erddig House estate, county Denbigh, which he afterwards sold to John Edisbury, esq. Erddig is a township adjoining that of Marchwiell.

Thomas Treuor his executo^{rs} administr^{ors} or assigns the whole and entire some of two hundred and fifteene pounds of lawfull Money of England at or vpon the twentie fourth day of June w^{ch} shall be in the yeare one thousand six hundred thirtie six at the now dwellinge House of the said Sir Thomas Treuor in or neere Dorset Courte als Sallisbury Courte London that then and from henceforth this p'sent Indenture and allsoe an assignment of a Lease and terme of the p'mises bearinge date the nynteenth of this Instant June shalbe voyd and of non effect as by the said Indenture may more fully appeare w^{ch} said Money was not paid accordinge to the said Condition and therefore Know yee that I the said Sir Edward Broughton of eightie pounds interest Money due to the said Sir Thomas Treuor knt as allsoe in consideration of the some of one hundred pounds of lawfull money of England to me the said Sir Edward Broughton in hand well and truely payd before the enseallinge and deliuey by the said Sir Thomas Treuor the Receipt whereof I the said Sir Edward Broughton doe heareby acknowledge and confesse and thereof and of eu'y parte and parcell thereof doe fully and absolutely exonerate acquit release and discharge the said Sir Thomas Treuor his heires executo^{rs} and administrato^{rs} and euery of them for euer by these presents haue remised released acquitted confirmed and for me my heires executo^{rs} and administrato^{rs} for euer quit claymed and by these presents doe acquit release remise confirme for me my heires executo^{rs} and administrato^{rs} quit claymed vnto the said Sir Thomas Treuor Sonne and heire of the said Sir Thomas Treuor Richard Prytherch and Richard Dauies and their heires all my right title interest condition of redemption clayme propertie challenge and demaund whatsoever w^{ch} I now haue or at any tyme hereafter may haue clayme challenge or demaund to haue of and to the said parcell of Lands meadows and pasture wth the appurtenances or any parte or parcell thereof by virtue of the said condition or any other way whatsoever To HAVE AND TO HOULD all my said right title interest clayme and demaund whatsoever of in and to the said premises or any parte thereof wth the appurtenances vnto the said Sir Thomas Treuor sonne and heir of the said Sir Thomas Richard Prytherch and Richard Dauies their heires and assigns to the only proper benyfit vse and beehoofts of them the said Sir Thomas Treuor Richard Prytherch and Richard

Dauies foreuer soe as neyther I the said Sir Edward Broughton nor my heires executo^{rs} nor administro^{rs} nor any of vs shall or may at any tyme heereafter clayme challenge or demaund the said premises or any parte thereof or any benyfit of or out of the same but that wee and eu'y of vs be in that respect wholly and absolutely excluded and debarred foreu' by these presents, AND I the said Sir Edward Broughton and my heires all the said Lands and premises and eu'y pte thereof wth their ap-
 purtenennces vnto the said Sir Thomas Treuo^r Richard Prytherch and Richard Dauies and their heires and assignes to the only proper vse and beehoofoe of them the said Sir Thomas Treuo^r Richard Prytherch and Richard Dauies and their heires foreu' against me and my heires executo^{rs} administro^{rs} and assignes and against all other person or persons Lawfully clayminge the premises or any parte thereof by from or vnder me the said Sir Edward Broughton shall and will warrant and foreuer defend by these presents IN WITNES whereof I the said Sir Edward Broughton haue hearevnto put my hand and seale the fiftenth day of July in the yeare of the Raigne of our Soueraigne Lord kinge Charles of England Scotland ffrance and Ireland defender of the faith etc the three and twentieth Ann dom 1647.

Edw: Broughton

Seal indistinct, but apparently a lion statant gardant.

Sealed and deliuered in the pr'sence of

J. EDISBURY

GEO. DALTON

WILLIAM AP ROBERT [mark].

APPENDIX V.

ABSTRACT OF THE WILL OF MARY, LADY BROUGHTON (20th January 1680-1).

I Dame Mary Broughton of Marchweil *als* Conqueress Hall in the County of Denbigh widow being of good and perfect health and sound memory do make ordain publish and declare this writing "writt by my owne hands" to be my last Will and Testament revoking and making void all and every Will and Wills by me formerly made.

As to my body I leave it to be disposed of according to the discretion of my executors to be decently buried ; as to my "temporall estate" first I bequeath unto my son Edward Broughton my house and tenement with the appurtenances lying and being in the market place in the Town of Kingston-upon-Thames in the County of Surry now or late in the tenure or occupation of Robert Punter or his assignes with "all wayes, watercourses, stables, gardens, orchards, stalls, or standings in the market place", also I bequeath unto my said son Edward Broughton my house and tenement with the appurtenances lying and being between the Gatehouse at Westminster and the Convict Prison of the Right Reverend Father in God. . . . Lord Bishop of London on the East, now or late in the occupation of John Hamden, gent., with all stables, coach-houses, outhouses, barns, gardens, yards, orchards, and appurtenances to the said house, messuage, or tenement belonging. I also bequeath to my said son Edward Broughton my right, title and interest of and in the prison or "Goale" called the Gatehouse Westminster with all rooms comodities and necessaries with all appurtenances to the said Prison house or Goale belonging or with the same used or occupied. I also bequeath unto my said son Edward Broughton all my right title and interest in the convict prison in Westminster together with the Mansion House and Messuage now erected and built upon the said prison wherein the Countess of Tirconnell now dwellith, lying and being at the West end of Westminster "Abby", with all stables, coach-houses, outhouses, barns, gardens, orchards, and all appurtenances to the same belonging. I bequeath unto my said son Edward Broughton all my other right title and interest of and in all my estate personal &

real in the county of Middlesex, City of Westminster and County of Surry, I having purchased the same with "my own reall money or porcion or patrimoniall estate" upon condition and it is my true meaning that the said Edward Broughton shall pay unto my two other sons Edward and Aquila Wyke fourscore pounds yearly during their natural lives, that is to say £40 a year each son to be paid quarterly by equal portions. If my said son Edward Broughton neglect or refuse to pay unto my said two "undutifull sonnes" Edward Wyke and Aquila Wyke their said annuity of £40 a year in manner aforesaid or within 40 days after each quarter day if lawfully demanded of the said Edward Broughton at his Mansion House at Marchweil *als* Conqueress Hall, then my said devise of the premises in the said County of Middlesex and City of Westminster to be void and the said houses to go to my other two sons Edward and Aquila Wyke to be equally divided between them share and share alike. I give and bequeath unto my son Edward Broughton and his heirs lawfully begotten "All that my Capitall Messuage called Marchweil *alias* Conqueress Hall" with the barns, stables, outhouses, edifices, buildings, gardens, orchards and demesnes lands thereunto belonging with their appurtenances in the said parish of Marchweil in the County of Denbigh and all other my Messuages, demesnes, Lands, tenements and hereditaments lying and being in the several parishes of Marchweil, Wrexham, Holt, and Shocklyche, or any or either of them, or elsewhere, in the counties of Denbigh, Flint, and Chester, and for want of such issue of my son Edward Broughton, then I bequeath the said Messuages, lands, and premises unto my second son Aquila Wyke and his lawful heirs, and for want of such issue, then to my eldest son Edward Wyke and his lawful heirs and for want of such issue to my own right heirs for ever. Provided always that the said Messuages etc devised to my said three sons and their heirs "in taile" shall stand charged and be chargeable with the several Legacies and bequests hereafter mentioned and shall be paid to the said Legatees within the space of one year after my decease. I bequeath unto "my unfortunate undutifull daughter Mary Decombe daughter of my first husband Aquila Wyke deceased, she having formerly imbeazled much of my estate, £50". To my waiting woman, £10. To every servant that shall serve me at the time of my death 40s. a piece. To the

poor of the parish where I am buried, £10. To the preacher of my funeral sermon, £10. To my friend Mr. Roger Jackson £100 to whose care I leave the management of my estate for the benefit of my children. I bequeath to my son Edward Broughton all the residue of my goods, chattels, leases, bonds and all other my personal estate whatsoever, he paying my debts, and satisfying my Legacies. I appoint my said son Edward Broughton and my said loving friend Roger Jackson my sole executors.

MARY BROUGHTON.

Witnesses—

Thomas Crue
John Richardson
Daniell Browne.

Proved 21st March 1694-5.

APPENDIX VI.

THE DACKOMBES (see p. 62).

There were Dackombes, or Dycombes, of Wrexham, and I copy from the Wrexham registers the following notes concerning them:—

- 24 Sept. 1713, Edward, son of John Dacomb, gent., w[rexham] a[bbot]
born 19th, bapt. 24.
17 Nov. 1714, Katherine, wife of John Daxton [Dacomb?] Gent, of
Pen y brinn was buried.
18 Sept. 1716, Edward, son of Mr. John Dycomb, of w.a., was buried.
6 Apr. 1716, Mary, da. of Jo. Dicomb, of w.a., born ye 3rd, bapt.
20 Sept. 1717, Robt., son of Mr. Robert Dacomb, of w. a. . . . bapt.

It is obvious that Mr. John Dackombe married again, and as his daughter by his second wife was named "Mary" it might be surmized that he it was who married Mary Wyke. But the dates are against this supposition, for Mary Wyke was already Mrs. Dackombe in 1681. Still it is not at all unlikely that sbe was the mother, or, at any rate, somehow connected with the Dackombes mentioned above, who lived in the lower part of Pen y bryn, now called "Bridge Street", at the house next but one to The Horns. It may be added that in 1843 and again in 1857 Daniel Dackombe, esq., was owner of Pumrhyd Mill in Abenbury, part of the old Marchwiell Hall estate. This

is curious, but I am certain that he did not inherit it either from the Broughtons, Wykes, or Browns of *Marchwiell*.

[Since writing the foregoing I have discovered that a John Duckome and Margt. Davies, both of Wrexham Parish, were married at Gresford, 21 Feb. 1710-1. I have learned also from Mr. Edward Owen, of the India Office, that "Sir John Dacombe, knt.," was one of six Commissioners to whom James I, on the 10 Jany., in the fourteenth year of his reign, granted the Lordship of Dyffryn Clwyd for 99 years. He was probably Sir John Dacombe of Stapleton, Dorset, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, knighted in 1616.]

I have had copied the pedigrees of Dackombe of Corfe, of Stepleton, and of Winterborne Kingston, in Hutchins' *History of Dorset*, but in no one of them does the name of Wyke occur, nor any name which can be identified with that of the Daccombes or Dycombs of Wrexham.

Mr. Hughes, of Kinmel, has, however, given me a real clue to the Dackombes, who were related to the Wykes, which unfortunately I cannot now follow up or disentangle. He writes:—"In Manning and Bray's *History of Surrey*, vol. ii, 630, I find that John Knightley [and be it remembered that Mary Lady Broughton, was a Knightley of Kingston] of Little Ashted or Priors Farm in that county, in 1713 suffered a Recovery of the said manor farm, the Whitehouse, the old Courthouse, and the Quakers' Meeting House in *Kingston*, and sold it to Aquila Wyke, who settled it on his daughter's marriage with Charles Browne of *Marchwiell*. She ob. s. p., and it descended to Aquila Dackambe as heir-at-law, and he owned it in 1809." Now Charles Browne, of *Marchwiell*, did not marry Aquila Wyke's daughter. He married his cousin, Anne Rockwood, whose mother, Mary, was daughter of Edward Wyke, elder brother of the Aquila Wyke who died in 1703, and father of the Aquila Wyke who died in 1772, both dying without issue. There is thus a mistake in Bray's *History of Surrey*, but it evidently reveals some connection between the Knightleys, Wykes, and Dackambes, which requires further elucidation.—A. N. P.

Mr. Hughes continues:—"In the *Heraldic Visitation of Surrey*, in 1632, the following coat of arms is recorded to John Knightley, of *Kingston*—Quarterly, 1 and 4 ermine, 2 and 3 paly of six or and gules, over all on a bend azure, a tilting spear or headed argent. The foundation

of this is the Fawsley coat differenced by the bend. Possibly they were an illegitimate branch. John Knightley, who sold to Aquila Wyke, was the son of Robert Knightley, by Ann, dau. of Sir John Chapman, who was son and heir of Sir Robert Knightley, kt., who purchased Little Ashted in 1671, from Leonard Wessell, his Trustee. The only mention I find of William Knightley is that in 1647 his daughter, Sarah, married Richard Cowper, of Temple Elephant in Capel, co. Surrey, and d. 3 Nov. 1662. She, of course, was sister to Mary, Lady Broughton."

Vita Sancti Kebie,

BY

THE REV. S. BARING-GOULD.

THERE are extant two lives of S. Cybi or Cuby, both in Latin, and both in the same MS. Collection (Cotton Lib. Vesp. A. xiv) in the British Museum ; both are apparently independent translations from one Welsh original. The first has been published by Rees in his *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, Llandovery, 1853.

The MS. belongs to the 13th century. It contains a calendar, and lives of S. Gundleus, S. Cadoc, S. Iltut, S. Teliau, two of S. Dubricius, S. David, S. Bernac, S. Paternus, S. Cledauc, two of S. Kebi, S. Tatheus, S. Carantoc, and S. Aed.

The author of the Latin life of S. Gundleus seems to imply that he derived his narrative from a Welsh poem on the life of the saint, for he records the circumstances of the composition of this bardic effusion. And that the two lives of S. Cybi are taken from a Welsh original hardly admits of a doubt, for both narrate the same circumstances in the same order, and only differ in the rendering into Latin.

Solomon, the father of S. Cybi, was *princeps militiae*, i.e., Gwledig, or chief military officer, also called *Dux* of the British, and a local Cornish king.

The *Lives* give his pedigree differently from the Welsh genealogies. Solomon, according to the latter, was "ap

•

Gereint ap Erbin ap Cystennin Gorneu", whereas the *Lives* make him son of Erbin son of Gereint, whom they represent as son of the fabulous Lud, the builder of London.

There were two Gereints. The second was son of Caranog of the race of Cadell Deyrnllug, and was father of S. Eldad, Bishop of Gloucester, who was killed by the Saxons; and the Gereint, who had a church dedicated to him in Hereford, was probably this latter Gereint.

Assuredly the Welsh pedigrees are more likely to be right than the *Lives*, for they invariably call Gereint the son of Erbin, and derive his descent from Constantine, and there is absolutely no confirmation of the statement that Gereint was son of Lud.

The mother of Cybi was Gwen, sister of Non, the mother of S. David. "Ortus autem fuit de regione Cornubiorum, inter duo flumina, Tamar et Limar" (Vit. 1^{ma}). This is the principality of Gallewick, between the Tamar and Lynher, of which Callington is the principal town. There are, in the district, no churches that now bear the names of Solomon and Gwen as founders, but there are traces of the presence of Non and David, and possibly of David's father Xant, in Altarnon, Landew, and Lansant (Lezant). There is, moreover, a tradition of a visit of S. David to Cornwall, mentioned by the poet Gwynfardd, who says that he received there ill-treatment at the hands of a woman.¹

S. Wenn or Gwen has left traces of herself in Morval and S. Wenn, and possibly Llansalos may have been a foundation of S. Selyf or Solomon.

At the age of seven Cybi went to school, and lived thenceforth, till he was twenty-seven years old, in Cornwall.

¹ *Myvyrian Archaeology*, i, p. 270.

After that he started on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and on his way home visited S. Hilary at Poitiers, who consecrated him bishop. This is an anachronism, as S. Hilary died in 366, nor does it help us if we suppose that a mistake has been made between Hilary of Arles and his namesake of Poitiers, for the former died in 449. It is not possible to put S. Cybi so early, when his grandfather Gereint fell at Llongborth in 522. In the *Lives* Elien Geimiad, his kinsman, has been confused with Hilary. As Rees, in his *Essay on the Welsh Saints*, has pointed out, Elien is very generally confounded with Hilary, as Geimiad (the Pilgrim) has been changed into Caimaid (bright) to correspond with the Latin Hilarius; moreover the name Hilary is rendered in Welsh Elian.¹

The *Lives* assert that Cybi remained for fifty years on the Continent. This is incredible, as shall be presently shown.

On his return to Cornwall, Cybi probably made his two important foundations of Duloe and Tregony. Duloe is remarkable as having adjoining it Morval, a foundation of his mother S. Gwen, and Pelynt, one of his aunt S. Non. Due North is S. Keyne, who was his cousin. If, as I conjecture, Lansalos was a foundation of S. Selyf, then his father was not far off. At Tregony again, we find in close proximity his aunt, S. Non, at Grampound.

How long Cybi remained in Cornwall we do not know. The *Lives* inform us that the natives desired to elevate him to the throne, but that he refused the honour. We know so little of the history of Cornwall at this period that we can do no more than conjecture that his father Solomon was dead, and that Catau, the Duke Cadour of Geoffry of Monmouth, had succeeded. Cadour was in turn

¹ Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 1836, p. 267.

succeeded by the turbulent Constantine, who was so violently assailed by Gildas in his epistle, *circ.* 545.

Immediately after this abortive attempt to raise Cybi to the throne, the saint left his native land for Wales. It is easy to read between the lines of the narrative and see that a disaffected portion of the Cornish endeavoured to put Cybi at their head against, probably, the violent Constantine; that this attempt failed, and that Cybi was obliged to fly for his life.

He took with him ten disciples, of whom four are named Maeloc, Llibio, Peulan, and Cyngar. Cyngar was, in fact, his uncle, the famous founder of Congresbury, in Somersetshire, which he had abandoned probably on account of the incursions of the Saxons. Cyngar was now an aged man, "Consobrinus ejus Kengar erat senex."

On leaving Cornwall, Cybi went to Morganwg, where he was not at first well received by the king, Etelic. We meet with this name in the *Liber Landavensis*; Etelic is there represented as son of Judael, King of Morganwg. Finally, the King surrendered to Cybi two sites for churches, Llangybi and Llandeverguer. The former is in Monmouthshire, the latter site has not been identified.

Cybi does not seem to have remained long in Morganwg. He went to Porthmawr, near St. David's, where he tarried three days, and thence crossed into Ireland, and made no delay till he had reached the island of Aran Môr, where he placed himself under the direction of S. Enda.

Enda had obtained a grant of the island from Ængus MacNadfraich, King of Munster, who fell in battle in 489, and Enda can hardly have founded his abbey there much before 486. He is supposed to have died in 540.

Cybi still had with him his disciples; and the account in the *Lives* is confirmed by what we hear of S. Enda, that

he did have in Aran a disciple Libio, who is the Lebiauc or Llibio of the *Vita*.

In Aran S. Cybi remained four years. There he built a church. His uncle Cyngar was with him, and was so decrepit with age that he could eat no solid food. Consequently Cybi bought a cow with its calf, to supply milk for the old man.

Melioc or Maeloc, the disciple of Cybi, cultivated a patch of land near the cell of another monk, named Fintan the Priest (Crubthir-Cruimthir) Fintan. This led to angry altercation, as Fintan considered this to be an encroachment. S. Enda was called in to make peace between them, but the grievance rankled in Fintan's mind.

The calf, moreover, strayed, and got into the meadow of Fintan, whereupon the disciples of Fintan impounded it; and tied it to a shrub (the *Life* says—a big tree, but there are not now and never were trees in Arran). The calf managed to tear up the shrub and ran back to its mother.

Fintan was furious and betook himself to prayer. He called on God to drive or blot Cybi out of the island, "deprecatus est Dominum, ut fugaret vel deleteret Sanctum Kebium de insula Arun, quia Deus amavit eum."

An angel was accordingly sent to Cybi to tell him to go. Doubtless the angel was a peace-loving monk, who saw that there would be incessant quarrels so long as these two angry saints were near each other in a confined island.

Accordingly Cybi departed for Meath, and there fasted forty days and nights on one spot, so as to secure it as a foundation for himself for ever, according to the well-known Celtic custom, described by Bede. The place Mochop is Kilmore of S. Mocop, near Artaine. But Fintan followed him there, and on the pretext that the land belonged to himself, drove Cybi away.

The Cornishman, along with his disciples, now went into Magh Breagh, the great plain in which is Kildare, but remained there only seven days, as the implacable Fintan pursued him, stirred up the people against him, and expelled Cybi and all his men.

Cybi next betook himself to Vobium or Vobyun by the sea, a district I cannot identify unless it were the country of the Hy Faelain, Ofaly. Fintan once more pursued him, and by some means or other was successful in again obtaining his expulsion. Cybi now solemnly cursed Fintan—"May all thy churches be deserted, and may never be found three churches singing at thy altar in all Ireland."

Thereupon Cybi and his disciples—to the number of twelve—entered a wickerwork coracle and passed over to Wales. On reaching the coast the boat got among rocks off the Carnarvon shore, and was almost lost; however, all on board got safe to land, and Cybi founded a church at a spot then called Cunab, but now Llangybi near Pwllheli, where, with his staff, he elicited a spring that bears his name to this day.

Maelgwn, King of Gwynedd (d. 547), was hunting, when a goat he pursued fled for refuge to S. Cybi. The King went to the cell of the Saint, who entreated that he might be given as much land as the hound could run the goat round. "And Cybi let loose the goat, and the hound pursued it through all the promontory (*i.e.*, Lleyln), and it returned again to the cell of S. Cybi."

Afterwards, a rupture occurred between Maelgwn and the saint. Maelgwn was a very immoral man, and what especially gave offence was that he had been brought up in the ecclesiastical state, and had deserted it. Cybi got the upper hand—the particulars are not recorded—and the King surrendered to him his *castellum* in Anglesey,

which thenceforth bore the name of Caergybi, and thither the Saint removed with his monastic family.

Here he again met with Elian the Pilgrim, who had ordained him, and who had a church at Llanelian. According to tradition they were wont to walk along the cliff to meet each other at a spot called Llandyfrydog, the one from the east the other from the west. Another friend with whom Cybi here associated was S. Seiriol, of Penmon.

The legend tells how Cybi sent his disciple Caffo to fetch fire from a smith, and the pupil returned bearing red hot charcoal in the lap of his habit. After this ensued a rupture between them, the occasion of which is not told. The writer of the first life merely records, out of place, and in a fragmentary manner: "And S. Cybi said to his disciple Caffo, depart from me, we two cannot get on together. And he went to the town called at this day Merthir Caffo, and there the Rosswr shepherds killed Caffo. Therefore the blessed Cybi cursed the shepherds of Rosswr." This comes in in the middle of the story of Cybi and Maelgwn, thus:—"Tunc capra ad sancti Kepii casulam, refugii causa, velociter cucurret; et dixit sanctus Kepius ad discipulum suum Caffo, Recede a me, non possumus esse simul et invenit capra refugium," &c. The second *Life* omits the passage relative to Caffo.

Now it is very significant that it was on the meeting of Cybi with Maelgwn that Cybi was obliged to dismiss Caffo from his attendance, and that shortly after some of Maelgwn's people should fall on and kill Caffo. When we learn that Caffo was the brother of Gildas, the whole is explained. Caffo was first cousin to Cybi, and very probably the estrangement between Maelgwn and the Saint was due to the publication of Gildas's intemperate and scurrilous epistle, in which Maelgwn was singled out for

invective of the most insulting character. We can well understand that the King was ill pleased to have the cousin of his reviler settle on his lands, and that he only consented to tolerate his presence on condition that he should dismiss the brother of Gildas. We see also a reason for the murder of Caffo. The shepherds took up the quarrel and slew Caffo in revenge for the abuse poured on their King.

S. Cybi died on November 8, certainly after 547, the date of Maelgwn's decease in the Yellow Plague.

It is not possible to admit that the age of the saint was seventy-two when he returned from the continent to Cornwall, but that may very well have been his age when he returned finally to Britain, after the four years spent in Ireland. His uncle was, indeed, still alive—but may have been nearly ninety. S. Enda, to whom he had gone was almost certainly his senior, and he died in or near 540.

Of the disciples of S. Cybi we have seen that Libiauc or Libio is known on Irish testimony to have been in Aran with S. Enda. He came to Wales with Cybi and founded Llanllibio in Anglesey. Paulinus or Peulan was the son of Pawl Hên, of Ty Gwyn, whose monumental inscription is now in Dolau-Cothi House, Carmarthenshire. He founded Llanbeulan in Anglesey. Another disciple, Maelauc or Maeloc, was the son of the Cornish Gereint, and was Cybi's first cousin, probably he was a good deal younger than his master, for after having founded a chapel at Llanfadog, under the church of his fellow pupil at Llanbeulan, he left and became a disciple of S. Cadoc, and finally settled at Llowes in Elfael in Radnorshire.

It is not possible to determine who was Cybi's great adversary, Crubthir Fintan. Finnan or Fintan is a very common name among the Irish Saints, and of a great many of them nothing is known. From the curse pro-

nounced by Cybi, which we may suppose was held to have been accomplished, Fintan his adversary obtained no extended cult in Ireland. There is indeed a Cruimthir (Crubthir) Finnan marked in the Irish Martyrologies on February 9, as of Droma Licci, in Leitrim, but this can not be the man, as according to the *Life*, Cruimthir Finnan was a person of influence in Leinster, and not in Northern Connaught. A Crubthir Fintain, however, occurs in the Martyrology of Donegal on July 13, of Killairthir, the site of which has not been satisfactorily determined.

It is conceivable that the departure of Cybi from Aran was due to the death of S. Enda in 540, and this will well agree with the date of his arrival in Wales, about 542.

If we suppose that he was then aged seventy-two, then he arrived in Ireland in 538, sixteen years after the fall of his grandfather in the battle of Llongborth (Langport in Somersetshire). We may conjecture that it was due to the defeat of the Britons in that battle, that Cyngar Gereint's son was obliged to escape from Congresbury to Cornwall.

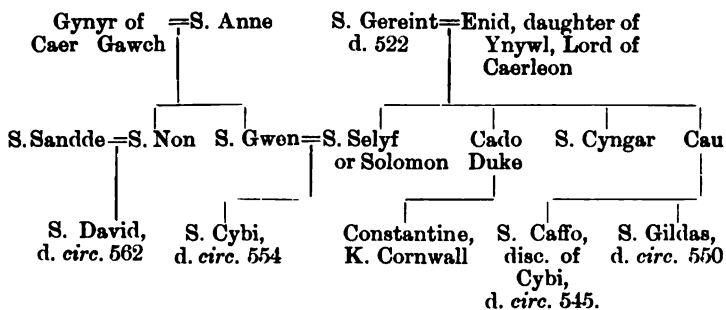
Taking Cybi to have lived to the age of 84, he would have died in 554.

The *Lives* of S. Cybi seem to me to deserve more regard than has hitherto been paid them, for the statements made in them receive remarkable corroboration from various quarters.

According to both *Lives* Cybi died on November 8. His feast is, however, very variously observed. In the Calendar prefixed to the *Lives*, in the same MS., his day is given as November 7. A Welsh MS. Calendar of the 15th cent. in Jesus College, Oxford (xxii), gives Nov. 5, so also the Welsh Calendar of 1670, in *Agoriad Paradws*, & Welsh Calendar in the Iolo MSS., on Nov. 5. Ab Ithel,

in his, gives Nov. 6, and a Welsh Calendar copied by W. ap W. in 1591, in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 14,882), gives Nov. 6. The parish feast at Tregony is observed on October 4. That, however, at Duloe is on November 9.

It may not be uninteresting to have the genealogy of S. Cuby or Cybi set forth as given by the Welsh authorities.



Salesbury's Dictionary and the King's Licence.

By J. H. DAVIES, M.A.

THE following licence, granted by Henry the Eighth in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, to William Salesbury, is of considerable interest. It was printed at the end of the Epistles and Gospels published by Salesbury in 1551, and the present transcript is copied from the Shirburn Castle copy of the book. It has been suggested that this licence referred to the publication of the Welsh Bible only, but it clearly refers to all books translated by Salesbury and more particularly to his Dictionary, which was published in 1547. It did not debar any other person from publishing a book in the Welsh language, and simply preserved the copyright of Salesbury's translations. Clearly the possibility of writing an original work in the Welsh language had not at that date occurred to Salesbury, or we may be sure that his rights in it would have been preserved.

A COPY OF THE KYNGES MOSTE GRACIOUS PRIVILEDGE.

Henry the eyght by the grace of God Kyng of England France and Ireland, defender of the faith and of the churche of Englande and Irelande in earth the supreme head. To all Printers and bokesellers and to other officers ministers and subiectes we do you to understand

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that of our grace especial we have graunted and geuen priuiledge and licence to our well beloved subiectes Willia Salesbury and Jhon Waley to print or cause to be printed oure booke entitled a Dictionarie bothe in englyshe and welche whereby our well beloved subiectes in Wales may the soner attayne and learne our mere englyshe tonge and that no other person or persons of what estate degree or condicion so euer they be of do prynte or cause the same Dictionary to be printed or any part thereof but only the sayd William and Jhon and eyther of them and the assignes of anye of them duryng the space of seuen yeres next ensuing the first printing of the sayd Dictionarie and that none other person or persons of what estate degre or condicion soeuer they be do printe or cause to be printed any other booke or bookes whych oure sayd subiectes William and Jhon or eyther of of them hereafter do or shal first translate and set forth during seuen yeares next ensuing the fyrst printing of any suche booke or bokes. Wherefore we wil and straytly commaund and charge all and syngular our subiectes as well printers as bookesellers and other persons within our dominions that they ne any of them presume to print or cause to be printed the sayde Dictionary or any part thereof or anye other boke or bokes first translated and printed by the sayde Wylliam and John or either of the contrary to the meanyng of thys our presente licence and priuiledge upon payne of our hygh displeasure geuen at our palace of Westminster the xiii day of December in the xxxvii yere our raigne.

A Welsh Love Song of the 16th Century.

BY J. H. DAVIES, M.A.

THE little song which follows appears to have been written about the end of the sixteenth century. The manuscript from which it is taken was written in 1637-8, but the poetry immediately preceding and following the song, was composed at an earlier date. Of the author nothing is known, as he can hardly be the Llewelyn ab Hwlcyn of the Anglesey pedigrees who lived about the beginning of the sixteenth century. Several of the other poems in the manuscript are very similar to this one, and they were unquestionably written by Richard Hughes, of Cefn Llanfair in Lleyn. Hughes's long poems have recently been published in book form.

Peculiar interest attaches to this poem, as well as to those of Richard Hughes, for they represent an attempt to import into Welsh poetry the style and the delicate conceits of the Elizabethan lyric writers.

It is known that Hughes was an official of the English Court, and Llewelyn ab Hwlcyn must also have been acquainted with the works of the contemporary English song-writers.

KAROL OI GARIAD.

Myfi ywr merthyr tostur lef
Duw Iesu or nef am helpio
Megis llong rhwng ton a chraig
O gariad gwraig rwy n kirio.

Och trwm ywr loes i rwyn i ddwyn
Heb obaith help na swyn
Onid Duw ar ferch ai rhoes.

Drylliodd Cariad glwyde fais
Am seren gwrtais amlwg
Mae arnaf glwyfe mwy na mil
Wrth graffy ar gil i golwg.
Och trwm ywr loes, &c.

Kil i golwg fal dan haul
O gusgod dwy aul feinion
Yn' sym dwyn ar llall im gwadd
Ar ddau syn lladd fynghalon.
Och trwm ywr loes, &c.

Kalon fyngwir galon i
Oedd ag ihi ymgowleidio
Ymgowleidio hon ni chawn
Pei cawn ni feiddiwn geisio.
Och trwm ywr loes, &c.

Ag o digia teg i ffryd
Ffarwel ir byd a ercha
Ar y ddayar help nid oes
Fy nerth am hoes a golla.
Och trwm ywr loes, &c.

Ag o colla i foes am hon
Rwyn ddigon bodlon iddi
Er i glanach meinir syth
Nid allwn byth i golli.
Och trwm ywr loes, &c.

¹ *al. un.*

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Kollodd glendid yr holl fyd
A Duw i gyd ni tyrrodd
Ag wrth lunio daiiwr ton
Yn wineb hon fo i gwreiddiodd.
Och trwm ywr loes, &c.

Gwreiddiodd hithe dan fy mron
O gariad, glwyfon anial
Wanach, wanach wy bob awr
Drwy gariad mawr a gofal.
Och trwm ywr loes, &c.

Na ofelwch troso i mwy
At Dduw ir wif i yn myned
Rwy yn madde i bawb ond iddi hi
A ffawb i mi maddeued.
Och trwm ywr loes, &c.

Fy holl frins na fyddwch dig
Fo am rhoes y meddig heibio
Help nid oes na syt ym fyw
Ffarwel a Duw am helpio.
Och trwm ywr loes, &c.

Och trwm ywr loes a rwy yn i dwyn
Heb ym obaith help na swyn
Ond Duw ne'r ferch ai rhoes
Mwy help i mi nid oes
Ond amdo, clŷl a gwledd, elor, arch a bedd,
A nawdd y gwr am rhoes.

Llⁿ AB HWLKYN o *Fon ai cant.*

The Expulsion of the Dessi.

BY PROFESSOR KUNO MEYER, PH.D.

OUR knowledge of Irish history during the early centuries of our era is fortunately not confined to the meagre accounts of the Annals. In addition to them, and as independent sources, we possess a large mass of materials in the histories of individual tribes, genealogical tables, chronological poems, sagas, and saints' Lives, all bearing upon the early history of Ireland. These materials are, of course, of the most varied origin and age, and will have to be carefully tested and sifted. Not until this has been done will the historian of Ireland have before him all the materials which Irish literature affords.

Much inedited matter of this kind is found in the Bodleian codices Rawlinson B. 502 and 512, and in Laud 610. Among other important texts I may mention the piece called *Baile in Scáil*, or 'The Vision of the Phantom,' which enumerates more than fifty Irish kings from Conn Cétchathach (A.D. 123-157) downward to the eleventh century, together with the duration of their reigns, long lists of battles fought by them, the circumstances of their deaths, and other details.¹ But it is the tribal histories that are perhaps of the greatest historical value, as they certainly are of the widest interest. One of these, dealing

¹ There is a fragment of the same piece in Harleian 5280, of which I am preparing an edition for publication in the third number of the *Zeitschrift für Celt. Philologie*, vol. iii.

with what in a term borrowed from contemporary history may be called the trekkings of the tribe of the Déssi¹ and originally written, as has been shown,² in the latter half of the eighth century, is here edited and translated for the first time. Its special interest for Welsh students lies in the fact that it contains an account of an Irish settlement in Wales during the third century (§ 11).

Two different versions of the story have come down to us. The older, the one here printed, which I will call A, has been preserved in Laud 610, fo. 99b 2—102a 2, and in Rawl. B. 502, fo. 72a 2—73a 2. In Laud the title is *De causis torche³ na nDéssi. i. acuis toirge na nDésse*, while Rawl. has the heading *Tairired⁴ na nDéssi*. As is so often the case in dealing with Irish texts, it was difficult to decide which of the two copies to make the staple of the edition, as neither is in every way superior to the other, and both correct and supplement each other. The best thing undoubtedly would be to do, as Stokes has done with *Félire Oengusso*, and Windisch with several pieces in the *Irische Texte*, to print both copies *in extenso*, but this would have taken up too much space. I have, therefore, selected the Rawlinson text as needing, on the whole, less correction than that of Laud, though the latter excels it in retaining a more archaic spelling. As regards the text itself, the two copies are in the main almost identical,

¹ The name of this tribe is preserved by those of the barony of *Deece*, co. Meath, their original home, and of the two baronies of *Decies*, co. Waterford.

² See *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xii, p. 20.

³ I am not sure of the exact meaning of *torche* (*toirge*). It seems to combine the meanings of German *Zug* (1) expedition, (2) band, company.

⁴ As to *tairired* 'journeying,' cf. *mithid dam-sa toirired*, Book of Lismore, fo. 53b 2. *tairired Bóinne*, LL. 191a 7. gen. *fer tairirid*, *Laws*, i, p. 194, 20.

though the single paragraphs are differently arranged. The most important variants of Laud are given in the footnotes. Where Laud deviates from Rawlinson I have sometimes indicated this in the translation by putting the reading of Laud in parenthesis; in a few cases these translations have been put at the foot of the page. Towards the end of both copies the scribes have become careless, and each has blundered in his own way.

The second and later version of our story, which I will call B, deserves a separate publication. So far as I know, it has come down to us in three copies, the oldest of which is a fragment contained in the *Book of the Dun*, pp. 53a—54b. It has the heading *Tucait innarba na nDési imMumain 7 aided Cormaic*. Its gaps can easily be supplied from two later copies, one in H. 3. 17, col. 720b—723a (entitled *Cóechad Cormaic i Temraig*), the other in H. 2. 15, pp. 67a—68b (*Tucaid cháechta Cormaic do Aengus Gaibuaibtheach 7 aigead Ceallaig 7 fotha indarbtha na nDeissi do Muig Breag*). The latter MS. preserves a number of poems not contained in the other copies. Whether one of the two versions, or which of them, is identical with the *Tochomlad na nDési a Temraig* quoted in the list of tales in D'Arbois de Jubainville's *Catalogue*, p. 263, and with the *Longes Eithne Uathaige* (*ib.*, p. 171), I cannot say.

K. M.

Tairired na nDessi inso ar a choibne fri Fotharto ocus
batar *trichait bliadan* la Laigniu.¹

1. Cethri *maic* batar la Harttchorb mac Meschuirb . i . Brecc 7 Oengus 7 Eochuid² 7 Forad.³ Forad dano, mac *side cumaile*⁴ 7 ní ragaib thir, 7 is he ba siniu⁵ dib. Nert coecat *immurgu* la Hoengus.

2. Bæ dano mac *tét* la rig Temrach . i . Conn mac Corbmaic. Gabais laim ingine Foraid⁶ . i . Forach a [h]ainm 7 fordoscarastar. Forumai Oengus for a hiarair na hingine⁷, co luid⁸ hi Temraig. Ni tharraid gabail na slabrad batar ar comloid na slige;⁹ ar ba hécen fer cechtar a da slabrad *side* dogres.¹⁰ Confacca a chomalta¹¹ for *dheis maic* ind rig. ‘Ni maculammar in clemnas nua sin,’ ar Oengus.¹² Friscair mac ind rig: ‘Daimthi dail cuind dam-sa!’¹³ Archena *déma-su cen co dama-su.*¹⁴ ‘Nocon fodem cetumus,’¹⁵ ar Oengus. Atróeraid Oengus [d]in tseig *tríit.*¹⁶ Bi dano indala slabrad suil ind rig, co roemaíd¹⁷ ina chind.¹⁷ Intan dosreng in sleig adochum,

Laud 610, fo. 99 b 2.—¹ De causis torche na nDéisi innso . i . acuis toirge na nDéisi ² Allmuir *add.* ³ Sorad ⁴ chumle ⁵ a sinser ⁶ Soraith ⁷ luidh Aengus gaibuaibthech lád galle for iarair ⁸ conluid ⁹ ni tarraid na slabrada batar hi croumlaib in gai ¹⁰ *L. omits this sentence.* ¹¹ inn ingin ¹² ni messe, ol se, conailla in clemnas n-isiu ¹³ Atberat ris: Daimthi dál cuind do-som inní sein. ¹⁴ ni didam-sa caimme ¹⁵ atnuarith *side* din tseig conluith tríit . i . sleig 7 da slabrad esti 7 triar for each slabrad dib ¹⁶ corobris ¹⁷ co n-ecmoing a hirlond inn-éton in rechtaire co mboi triana chend siar. Immalle dorochratar in mac 7 in rechtairi 7 romebaíd súil Cormaic 7 ní roachtas greim fair, corrócht a theg 7 romarb nonbar do churadaib Cormaic occá thafund . i . a dalta leis . i . Corc Duibne diatát Corco Duibne 7 atrullai sede a giallu.

These are the Wanderings of the Dessi (which are put here) because of their kinship with the Fothairt;¹ and they were thirty years in Leinster.

1. Artchorp son of Messchorp had four sons, to wit, Brecc and Oengus and Eochuid and Forad.² Forad, however, was the son of a bondmaid and did not get any land, and he was the eldest of them. Oengus had the strength of fifty men.

2. Now the King of Tara³ had a wanton son, to wit, Conn⁴ mac Cormaic, who forcibly seized the daughter of Forad—Forach was her name—and ravished her. Then Oengus set out in search of the girl and went to Tara. He did not secure the chains which were on the . . .⁵ of the lance; for a man was needed for each of these two chains of his always.⁶ He saw his fosterchild sitting at the right hand of the King's son. 'We have not heard of this new alliance,' said Oengus. The King's son answered: 'Grant me the respite of a grown-up person! In any case, thou wilt have to bear it, though thou do not grant it.' 'To begin with, I will not bear it!' said Oengus and ran the lance through him. Then one of the two chains struck the eye of the King, so that it broke in his head; and when he

¹ An account of the tribe of the Fothairt precedes this story in the MS. ² Sorad, *Laud.* ³ i.e. Cormac mac Airt. ⁴ He is called Cellach by Tigernach (see *Rev. Celt.*, xvii, p. 19.) ⁵ What the *comla* ('valve') of a lance, to which the chains were affixed may be I do not know; perhaps a ring that would turn round. Nor do I understand the *croumlaib* of *Laud.* ⁶ i. e. these chains when taken out would each demand the sacrifice of a man. The scribe of H. 2. 15 understands this differently; for he writes: *triar fer cacha slabraid ig a tarraing* 'three men were needed for carrying each chain.' This lance reminds one of Maelodran's lance, the *Carr Belaig Durgin*, which killed of its own accord, or when moved by a demon. See *Hibernica Minora*, p. 81.

rodbi fochoir na sleigi triasin deogbaire, conid se conapaid prius. Is arna slabradaib tra ba Hoengus Gæbuaibthech a ainm-seom.

3. Is desin rognid Ocheill for Temraig sechtair . i . clasa rath la Cormac, conid inte nofoihed som dogres, ar ni ba hada ri co n-anim do féis i Temraig. Conid de asberar Achell ar Themair *nó* ar aicce Temrach, daig na faichle bæ ar suil ind rig.¹

4. Bebais mac ind rig 7 dobert Oengus in mnai leis.

5. Dobert Cormac sluago forsna Deisse 7 romebdatar secht catha forthu ria n-Oengus co maccaib a brathar . i . Russ 7 Eogan.² Ba rii Oengus dar eisse mBrice co cenn . xl . laithi. Et balobrathair *cach* fer iarum, ar ni foerlangtar nert ind flatha 7 ind laith gaile 'moalé. Is ann asbeir-som: 'Forasselbthai for rige. Is dech dam-sa mo nert fodessin.'

6. Tecmall ri Temrach firu Herenn forthu 7 ni damair cert catha doib, co tarlaicset a thir do. Dolotar iarum co Laigniu co Fiachaig m-Baicceda mac Catháir, co rochart *side* hú Bairrche remib asa tir 7 fothaigtir na Deisse ann co

¹ Ni deochaid *didiu* Cormac hi Temuir, conid i n-Ochail [fo. 100 a 1] ar Themair robúi on uáir sin. ² Doratsat na Déise iarsin secht catha do Chormac. Ba tresiu fortarlín fer nHeirenn fadeóid la Cormac. Ba maith cid a cenel-som .i. na nDéise, cland Fiachach Soguitte *maic* Feidlimthe Rectoda *maic* Tuathail Techtmair. Oc Dumu Der *immurgu*, is and celebrat mna na nDéise .i. déra fola rotheilcset ic scarad fria tir 7 fria talmuin co bráth. I mMaig Inair, is and doratsat in cath déidenach. 'Is ininair in comrac indossa,' ar Cormac. 'Bid ed a hainm co bráth, Mag Innair.'

pulled the lance back, its butt end struck the cup-bearer and passed through him so that he died the first.¹ It was from the chains that his name was Oengus of the Dread Lance.

3. Hence Achail² was built by the side of Tara, that is to say, a *rath* was dug by Cormac in which he would always sleep; for it was not lawful for a king with a blemish to sleep in Tara. Hence is said Achail by Tara (or near Tara), on account of the care (*faichill*) taken of the eye of the King.

4. The King's son died, and Oengus took the woman away with him.

5. Cormac sent hosts against the Dessi, who were routed in seven battles under the leadership of Oengus and his brother's sons, to wit, Russ and Eogan. To the end of forty days Oengus was king after Brecc, and then every man murmurs,⁴ for they could not endure the combined power of the prince and the champion together. It is then he said: 'Take possession (?) of the kingship! My own strength is best for me.'

6. The King of Tara gathered the men of Ireland against them, and did not grant them fair fight, so that they left his land to him. Then they went into Leinster to Fiachu Bacceda, son of Cathair, who drove the Hui Bairrche for them out of their land; and there the Dessi were settled until the time of Crimthann, son of Enna

¹ So that its butt-end struck the forehead of the steward and came out at the back of his head. At the same time did the son and the steward fall and Cormac's eye was broken; and they could not lay hold of him, so that he reached his house. And he killed nine of Cormac's warriors as they were pursuing him, and his fosterson was with him, to wit, Corc Duibne (from whom are the Corco Duibne), who had escaped from hostageship—*Laud.* ² Now the Hill of Skreen.
³ i.e. Brecc. ⁴ For *balobrathair* read *folabrathair*, 3rd sing. pres. ind. of *folabrur*.

haimsir Crimthaind maic Ennæ Ceinselaig maic Labrada maic Bresail Belaig maic Fiachach Baiceda.¹

7. Dorala læch² amra la hu³ Bairrchi .i. Eochu Guinech mac Oengusa, co rosglan side dia thir.⁴ Berthus Crimthand mac Ennæ i n-Aird Ladrann fodes⁵ immirge na n-Deisse, conid de ata Tir na Himmergi 7 Aes na Himmergi o shein ille.

8. Mell ingen Ernbraind ben Crimthaind bert macco do Chrimthund 7 atbath Mell iar suidiu. Ocus dobreth Cuiniu ingen Ernbraind do iarum.⁶ Bert Cuiniu ingen do .i. Eithne Uathach. Bæ Bri mac Bairceda in drui isin dun in n-aidchi⁷ rogenair Eithne. [fo. 72b, 1] 'Ind ingen rogenair⁸ innocht,' ar Bri, 'rosfessatar⁹ fir Herenn uili¹⁰ 7 ardaig na hingine sin gebait a mathre in tir artrefat.¹¹ Amail atchualatar¹² som coir in seeoil sin lasin druid,¹³ co mbad tria chumachtu na hingine nogebtais forbbæ,¹⁴ rosaltatar¹⁵ for carnaib¹⁶ mac mbec co mbad luath no-assad.¹⁷ Is de ba Heithne Uathach a hainm-se, ardaig nos-aigtis in meicc bicc.¹⁸

¹ Rodlomtha trá co mbatar occ Hard na nDéise hi crích Laighen for Mag Liffe. Fiacho Baiceda immurgu mac Cathair Moir, is hé ba rígh in inbaid sin hil-Laighnib. Cart side Au Barreche rempu assa tír 7 suidigestar na Déisse and. Rothrebsat and co haimsir Crimthain mic Censelaig mic Endai Labrada mic Bressail Belaig mic Fiachach Baceda. Is 'na haimsir-side tollotar na Deisse for longais. ² Robúi óclách ³ d'uib ⁴ tír (*sic leg.*) ⁵ berthus Crimthan mac Censelaich issind Aird fodeissin. ⁶ Bert Meld ingen Ernburnd maccu do-side. O rodamuir side dobreth Annu ingen Er[n]bruind dobert side óeningen (*sic*) do .i. Ethne a hainm ⁷ Búi Brí faith mic Bairchetia isin dún ind adaich sin ⁸ gignathar ⁹ rofessatar ¹⁰ om. L. ¹¹ Is tria chumachta gebaid am-mathre thír arattrefat co bráth ¹² rochualatar ¹³ fáith ¹⁴ tír ¹⁵ nosgabatom 7 nosnaltatar ¹⁶ feolaib ¹⁷ luathite a forbairt ¹⁸ ar donaigtis na maic becca.

Censelach, son of Labraid, son of Bressal Belach, son of Fiachu Bacceda.

7. There chanced to be a famous warrior with the Hui Bairrchi, to wit, Eochu Guinech, son of Oengus,¹ and he it was who drove them out of their land. Then Crimthann, son of Enna, sent the wandering host of the Dessi to Ard Ladrann southward, whence the Land of the Wandering Host and the Folk of the Wandering Host have been so called ever since.

8. Meld, the daughter of Ernbrand, the wife of Crimthand, bore sons to Crimthand and then died, whereupon Cuiniu, the daughter of Ernbrand, was married to him.

Cuiniu bore him a daughter, even Ethne the Dread. In the night when Ethne was born Bri, the druid, son of Bairchid,² was in the stronghold. 'The maiden that has been born to-night,' said Bri, 'all the men of Ireland shall know her, and on account of this maiden her mother's kindred will seize the land on which they shall dwell.' When they heard the truth of that story from the druid, that it was through the power of the maiden that they would obtain inheritance, they reared her on the flesh of little boys that she might grow quickly.³ Hence Ethne the Dread was her name, for the little boys dreaded her.

¹ Cf. Crimthand mac Ennæ. Eochu guinech rí húa mBarrchi, mac a mgini féin, rosmarb, LL. 39 b.

² Cf. Brí mac Baircheda, LL. 197 a 3.

³ the quicker.—*Laud.*

9. Is e a senathair in druad sin dano rochachain¹ a n-imthechta doib hic tuidecht atuaid hi cath Truisten.² Is ann asbert: 'Ni o Temair dochumlaid ticid ticid doth-aide gluind mara cotobcatla crethit cetnaanad tuidecht do mac Daurthecht deircthe Eogan sceo echta scen macco Echach Airiman Artt ero Corp coituael cel cichsit datfiannæ im Findchad mac Niod atroinne noifidir ruthit min mairfitit coicthe rann Dil diairithe Lethe Laidcind ilar lenthus diacoi crochæ marfit Dil nad flathius gaile genithar gaibthiut co firu Fochlæ ifaitse dosclich doarnid arus mac Meschuirb mogithar dalsus condesil fidgella forderga ordd araserb slas ninde mac nDega diagraif arrigthius rige os cach ros codidiansingar ar Ros mac Feochair feig falnathar cotafodlaib fergair cain iarnithu mac Riath rascthius itreichnimi conoid ni.' Ni.³

10. Ticht⁴ tra o Chormac i n-diaid mac mBric .i. Ros 7 Eogan, co ndigsitis afrithisi co Cormac. Amail rochuala Oengus, asbert friu:⁵ 'In fir,' ar se, 'tuidecht fri himmarchur sid 7 choræ frib-se? ['Fyr,']⁶ ol seat. 'Ronbia slan cach neich dorigensam⁷ 7 ronbiat da chutrümma ar tire liar tir fodesin⁸ 7 og coræ co brath.'

¹ dicachain ² o chath Druissen oc tuidecht antueth ³ Nitho Themuir dochumlith ticith dofaiteth gluind mair conib cath crechtnigther aratuitet da mac Durthacht dercthus echen sceo echde sceo mac mair-Echach ere maine ard ere corba maccu delchidechait dodareim Findchath mac Niathait no Endi rofitir ruithid find niar-fithid coderaind Dil dia rathus Lithi Laidcend hilar lentus dia Chondochtæ norbe dal nad lathugaile gainethur gaibidith co firo Foichle hi foidse dosfeth tus ar dith arus mac Meschuirp mogethar dalsus condesil ditafind gola folt forderga ord æra serbsi as indin indinn dega grisas rigthius rigib os cech rus condirannais ingair arus mac maic Fechuir fech fellnatar contofodli fergair conarnith mac Niath naiscthus hi treña hi triach none conoethu nithu Ni o Themuir dochumlit. ⁴ Tóhet ⁵ dotéit co maccu [fo. 100 a 2] a brathar dia n-acallaim. ⁶ sic L. ⁷ do neoch dongnisiu ⁸ da tír lar tír

9. Now, it was that druid's grandfather, who had sung their wanderings to them as they went from the north to the battle of Truistiu.¹ 'Tis then he said: 'Not from Tara, &c.'"

10. Then messengers were sent from Cormac after the sons of Brecc, even Russ and Eogan, that they should come back to Cormac. When Oengus heard that, he said to them: 'Is it true,' said he, 'that they have come on an errand of peace' and treaty with you?' 'It is true,' said they. 'We are to be absolved of everything that we have done, and we are to have twice as much again as our own land, together with our own land and full peace till Doom.' 'Do not do it,' said Oengus, 'leave me not alone!

¹ Or, perhaps, 'at the Ford (*ic dth*) of Truistiu.'

² In the present state of our knowledge of Old-Irish it is impossible to understand more than an occasional word or phrase in these rhapsodical compositions. A comparison of the two versions shows how little they were understood by the scribes themselves.

³ Cf. *do immarchor chóre*, Wb. 5 a 5.

‘Na’ denid,’ ar Oengus, ‘nadimfacbaid-se’ m’oenur! Ro-forbia’ da trian in’ tire araglaintem.’ Remthus’ do for clannaib for mo chlainn-se co brath. Ocus mo chlann-sa do dul i cath 7 hi crích ria cach 7 do bith fodeoid ic tudecht a crích.⁷ Ocus co n-irglantar tir remib.⁸ Nach-
imfacbaid-se!’ Dorigset’ iarum anisin 7 dobretha¹⁰ fir¹¹ fris . i . fir ciche 7 gruaide, nime 7 talman, gréne 7 esca, druchta 7 daihte, mara 7 tire.

11. Luid Eochaid mac Arttchuirp dar muir cona chlaind hi crích Demed,¹² conid ann atbathatar¹³ a maic 7 a hui. Conid dib cenel Crimthaind allæ,¹⁴ diata Tualodor mac Rígin maic Catacuind maic Caittienn maic Clotenn maic Næe maic Artuir maic Rethoir maic Congair maic Gartbuir maic Alchoil maic Trestin maic Aeda Brosc maic Corath maic Echach Almuir maic Arttchuirp.¹⁵

12. Dobert Cormac húa Cuind breic im [d]a milid Oengusa ind rig¹⁶ . i . Grainne 7 Moinne, diatat¹⁷ Granraige 7 Moinrige. Atberthi¹⁸ uad fri cechtar de i n-ecmais¹⁹ araile: ‘Is bec do brig lat rig, a Grainne.²⁰ Ni tabar hi cosmailius fri Moinne nGall.²¹ Asbered a chummat cetna fri Moinne. Et asbeir side fri Oengus: ‘Dia nomthabarthar-sa²² hi

¹ nach ² nachamfacbaid-si ³ robarbiat ⁴ om.L ⁵ aran-
glanfam ⁶ tús ⁷ essi ⁸ corroglantar tír dúib ⁹ dogniat
¹⁰ dobretha *with punctum delens under a—L.* ¹¹ fer *add. L.*
¹² Demeth ¹³ robo marbh 7 ¹⁴ Crimthain alle ¹⁵ Taulodar
mac Rígin mic Catien mic Clothienn mic Noé mic Artuir mic Petuir
mic Congair mic Goirtiben mic Alcon mic Tresvad mic Aeda mic
Brosc mic Corach mic Echdach Allmair mic Airtchuirp. ¹⁶ bréic im
dunuth oenguill ind rig (*sic*) ¹⁷ diata ¹⁸ asbreth ¹⁹ i n-ecndairg
(*corrected out of ecndairt*) ²⁰ a Granfir ²¹ co n-érbrad hi cosmaiíus
fri Méinne nGall ²² dia nomtarta-sa

You shall have two thirds of the land which we shall clear, precedence to your children over my own children till Doom, and my own children to go to battle and across the border before every one, and to be the last to come out of the enemy's land. And they shall clear the land before you. Do not leave me!' Then they did that, and truth was pledged for it, to wit, truth of breast and cheek, of heaven and earth, of sun and moon, of dew and drop, of sea and land.

11. Eochaid, son of Artchorp, went over sea with his descendants into the territory of Demed, and it is there that his sons and grandsons died. And from them is the race of Crimthann over there, of which is Teudor son of Regin, son of Catgocaun, son of Cathen, son of Cloten, son of Nougoy, son of Arthur, son of Petr, son of Cincar, son of Guortepir, son of Aircol, son of Triphun, son of Aed Brosc,¹ son of Corath, son of Eochaid Allmuir, son of Artchorp.

12. Cormac, the grandson of Conn, played a trick upon two soldiers of Oengus the King, to wit, Grainne and Moinne, from whom Granraige and Moinrige are so called. He caused it to be said to either of them in the absence of the other: 'Small is thy esteem with thy king, O Grainne. Thou art not deemed worthy to be compared to Moinne the Gall.' The same thing was said to Moinne. Then the latter said to Oengus: 'If I am put in comparison with Grainne, I shall put this spear through thee.' When Cormac knew the order of the watch which would come

¹ As Zimmer has shown (*Nennius Vind.*, p. 88) this is the Ewein Vreisc of Teudos' pedigree in the Jesus College MS. 20, fo. 35b. I have restored the Welsh forms of the names according to Ancombe's Indexes to Old-Welsh Genealogies, *Archiv. für celt. Lexikographie*, i, pp. 187-212.

cubes fri Grainne, dobér-sa in sleig se triut-su.' O rafitir Cormac ord na haire dodasicfad a ndis i n-oenaidchi immoalle. It he rotheilcset slog fair inna dun 7 rongeguín indara de 7 roort mac a brathar 'moalle fris.¹

13. Dosbert Crimthann i n-Ard Ladrann iarsain. Et d[o]coirsetar maic Crimthain cocad frisna Deisse². i. Eochu, is e rogab doib in ndarbne cona frenaib (*sic*) 7 doscartsat im-maidm as hi tir n-Osairge.

14. Imaittreib doib alla aniar hi Commur Tri n-Usce hir-rind tire Tigernaich.³ Ardosfaicce⁴ ri Osraige matan moch iar ndenam a n-aittreib.⁵ 'Is mili tige 7 mile ndethach ani thall,' ar se. Is de asberar Milidach.⁶ Gebtait forn (*sic*). Atasaigid hi tenid, loiscitir a nhuile aittreba⁷ 7 nistalla leo thiar iarsuidiu.⁸ Doloingset as 7 dothaegat iar⁹ muir siar, co n-gabsat i nHirchuilind tiar.¹⁰

15. [fo. 72b, 2] Isind aimsir sin ba marb ben Oengusa maic Nadfraich rig Caisil¹¹, et dothæt nech uad do thochmarc na hingine cucco, ar robæ Eithne moalle friu-som thiar. Atrogell Oengus a tri rinnroisc di. Batar se a tri rindroisc . i . faithchi Chaissil¹² o Luaisc co Caissel do

¹ Ar rofitir Cormac ord n-aire nachommitethe rofitir donticfad oenadaig immele side. Tolléicset slog fair inna dún 7 geguín indele he 7 huit mac a brathar immelle. ² Inn uair ropo marb Crimthann mac Censelaig, dogensat Lagin coccad friu-som. ³ O rofitir Osseirge immarthrub alle aniar fri Comur tri n-Uisci ir-rind tire Echach ⁴ atchi ⁵ atruib ⁶ Is mile tige ani thall, ol se, conid desin rohainmniged Milithach. ⁷ huile in att-[fo. 100b 2] ruib ⁸ nistall thair hisuidiu ⁹ dothiagat tar ¹⁰ tiar thess ¹¹ hi Caisiul. Ardrig Caisil 7 Muman heside ¹² Is mo inrasc-sa ém ol sí, faithchi Chaisil.

to them on the same night together. . . .¹ 'Tis they who let in a host upon him in his fortress, and one of them wounded him, and his brother's son was slain together with him.

13. Thereupon Crimthann sent them into Ard Ladrann. And after the death of Crimthann, his sons made war upon the Dessi; and one of them, Eochu, took the oak with its roots to them.² And in a rout they drove them out into the land of Ossory.³

14. There in the east by the meeting of the Three Waters⁴ on a point of the land of Tigernach⁵ they dwelt. Early one morning, after they had built their dwellings, the King of Ossory saw them. 'Yonder,' he said, 'are a thousand houses (*míle tige*) and a thousand smokes.' Hence Miledach⁶ is so-called. He put fire to them,⁷ and all their dwellings are burnt. After that there was no place for them in the east to stay in. They fared forth and went along the sea westward until they settled in Irchuilenn in the (south-)west.

15. At that time the wife of Oengus son of Nadfraich, King of Cashel, died, and a messenger was sent by him to the Dessi to woo the maiden Ethne, for she had been with them in the west. Oengus promised her three wishes. These were her three wishes, to wit, that the meadow land

¹ Something seems omitted here.

² This seems an idiom, which I cannot explain. Cf. *crothais dóib dairbre ndall*, *Ir. Texte*, i, p. 108, 4.

³ The ancient kingdom of Ossory comprised nearly the whole of the present county Kilkenny as well as the baronies of Upper Woods, Clandonagh and Clarmallagh in Queen's County.

⁴ The meeting of the rivers Suir, Nore and Barrow near Waterford.

⁵ Eochu, *Laud*.

⁶ A place near the Meeting of the Three Waters. Cf. *commor immar Milidach*, LL. 44 b 9.

⁷ Cf. *adachtatar in crích hi tenid*, LU. 65 a 12.

thabairt di 7 a maithriu do airisem ann. Et in cenel nothogfaitis¹ do aurglanad rempu 7 a dilsí doib in tiri sin. Et comsaire doib frisna teora Heoganachta Muman . i . E[ogonacht Raithlind 7 Eoganacht Locha Lein 7 Eoganacht Hua Fidgeinti² co n-Huib Liathain.

16. Togait³ iarum na Deisse Osairgi do aurglanad rempu⁴ 7 do chocad⁵ friu. Lotar da druid lasna Deisse . i . Drong⁶ et Cecht.⁷ Bæ dano drui la Hosairgiu . i . Dil mac Hui Chrecca, 7 roptar daltai doside druid na n-Deisse. Dobertsat na Deisse *secht* catha do Osairgib 7 romaidset na *secht* catha sin ria n-Osairgi forsna Deissib⁸ hi Lethet Laidcind i n-Ard Chatha.⁹

17. Dobreth Eithne Uathach iarsin comairle dia meithre . i . dula¹⁰ co cenn adchomairc Muman, co fath-brithemain¹¹ Casil, co [Lugaid] Laigde Cosc, conid he roscobair tria gæs 7 trebair.¹² Ba he ba brithem do Choreccu Laigde. Ar robæ¹³ imthus do¹⁴ Choreccu Laigdi 7 do Eoganacht hi Caissiul¹⁵ . i . intan nobid ri do Choreccu Laigdi, nobid brithem do Eoganacht. Oengus mac Nadfraich ba ri in tan sin 7 Lugaid Laigdi Cosc¹⁶ ba brithem.

¹ dongoetais ² 7 comsoere doib fri rig teora ndEoganachta Muman . i . ri Raithlind 7 ri Lochræ 7 ri huad (*sic*) Fidgeinti ³ togdatar
⁴ rembi ⁵ do chath ⁶ Droch ⁷ do sil maccu Crecca *add. L.*
⁸ for na Déisse ⁹ il leith Laidcind . i . Art. Asberat araile is xxx. cath ¹⁰ Is and airlestar Ethne Huathach dona Déisib dia haitib dul doib ¹¹ brithem ¹² Luigith Corc (*sic*), is he nodairlestar ar a gais 7 ar a threbairi. ¹³ ata ¹⁴ etir ¹⁵ o aimsir Dáirine 7 Derethine, a brithemna do chlandaib Luighdech 7 rigi do chlandaib Auglum (*sic*), rigi dano do chlandaib Luighdech 7 brithemnas do chlandaib Aulim, co roimchla lith ifectsa rige dogrés la clannaib [fo. 101 b 1] Aulim 7 breithemnas dogrés la clandaib Luighdech.
¹⁶ Luigith Cosc.

of Cashel from Luasc to Cashel be given to her, for her mother's kindred to dwell there, that the tribe which they would choose should clear the land before them, which should then belong to them; and that they should be as free as the three Eoganacht of Munster, to wit, the Eoganacht of Raithlenn, the Eoganacht of Loch Lein and the Eoganacht of the Hui Fidgenti together with the Hui Liathain.

16. Then the Dessi chose the people of Ossory to be cleared out before them and to fight against. There were two druids with the Dessi, to wit, Drong and Cecht; and there was also a druid with those of Ossory, Dil, the descendant of Crecca, and the druids of the Dessi had been foster-sons of his. The Dessi fought seven battles with the men of Ossory at Lethet Laidcind in Ard Catha,¹ in all of which they were routed by the men of Ossory.

17. Then Ethne the Dread advised her mother's kinsfolk to go to the chief counsellor of Munster, the seer-judge of Cashel, Lugaid Laigde Cosc. He by his wisdom and prudence helped them. He was judge to the Corco Laigdi. For there had been an interchange between the Corco Laigdi and the Eoganacht² in Cashel (from the time of Darfine and Dercthine), to wit, whenever there was a king of the Corco Laigdi, there was a judge of the Eoganacht. Oengus, son of Nadfraich, was king at that time, and Lugaid Laigde Cosc was judge.

¹ Others say there were thirty battles.—*Laud.*

² Between the children of Lugaid and the children of (Ailill) Olum.—*Laud.*

18. Tiagait maithi na nDeisse 7 Eithne Huathach leo co *Lugaid*¹ Cosc 7 asberat fris: ‘Ronfoire’ im chobair dún.² Rotbia tir linni dar a eisse cen chis, cen chongabail,⁴ cen dunad, cen biathad, 7 ni thicfam dar cert ar do chlaind co brath.⁵ Naidmthir⁶ fir n-Oengussa 7 fir n-Eithne 7 fir flatha na nDeisse fri sodain. ‘Congraid for ndruides dam-sa,’ ar *Lugaid*⁷ Cosc, . i . Droch 7 Checht. Congrait⁸ do, et dobretha di muinnir . i . da phaitt doib,⁹ hit e lana do fin. Dobreth doib-sium a tirib Gall 7 biad Gall lais, ar ba mescamail sobruige inti nochaithead.¹⁰ ‘Berid in fricill¹¹ se do for n-aite 7 apraid fris at for n-aithrig do debaid fris.¹² Et berid tecosc¹³ dia ingin iar n-ol ind finæ.¹⁴

19. Dorigset amlaid.¹⁵ Et arfofet Díl¹⁶ in fricill¹⁷ 7 roscar-som ind ingen 7 ro-oslaid in furiud rempu.¹⁸ Dall didiu in Dil.¹⁹ Rochomairc ind ingen dó ar belaid a dalta isin tan ba mesc.²⁰ ‘A mo sruith,’ ar ind ingen, ‘im bia tesargain²¹ na nDeisse indorsa?’²² ‘Biaid amæ,²³’ ar Dil, ‘mad i n-urd turebad grían foraib 7 na robeotais 7 na roruibtis nech ann. Ar inti bifas nó genfas nech do slog araile immarach ar thus, noco n-aittrefa in tir sin²⁴ co

¹ Luigith ² Tonfairne ³ a Lugith *add.* ⁴ chongbail ⁵ 7
ni thesseba a chert co brath ⁶ adguiter ⁷ Gairthir dam-sa tra,
ar Lugith, bar ndrúidi ⁸ congairter ⁹ dobeir da muinir lana doib
¹⁰ biath na nGall lais 7 it he nohithed a bargin namma. ¹¹ Berith
inso ¹² abraid is he bar n-aithrech debuid fris ¹³ tecosc
¹⁴ tria mesci in fina iarna ol ¹⁵ Dogensat som aní sein ¹⁶ som
¹⁷ nisreccell (*sic*) ¹⁸ cartait som in ingin Dil 7 asoelc a forud remib
¹⁹ ropu dall Dil ²⁰ ni chuingen ba frit comairc ind ingen o ropo
mesc ar belaid a da dalta ²¹ im bui tesorcud ²² innosa ²³ báí,
a muinecan ²⁴ mad mattain foraib imbarach ni urd 7 ni fuibitis
nech n-and. Ar inti on goutar nech imbarach ni aitreba a tir so

18. The nobles of the Dessi, and Ethne the Dread with them, went to Lugaid Cosc and said to him: 'Help us! Thou shalt have land with us for it without rent, without seizure, without levy of host or food, nor shall we ever trespass against thy descendants.' The truth of Oengus and of Ethne and of the princes of the Dessi is pledged for this. 'Call your druids to me,' said Lugaid Cosc, 'even Droch and Cecht.' They were called to him, and they gave them two jars full of wine, which had been brought to them¹ from the lands of Gaul, together with food of Gaul; for he who would eat and drink it would be intoxicated and sober (at the same time). 'Take this gift to your tutor and say to him that ye repent of fighting against him. And he will instruct his daughter after he has drunk the wine.'

19. They did so. And Dil accepted the gift, and the girl divided it and opened (?) . . . before them.² Dil, however, was blind. Then, when he was drunk, the maiden asked him before his two foster-sons: 'O my venerable (father)' said she, 'will there be rescue for the Dessi now?' 'Indeed, there will be,' said Dil, 'if the sun rise upon them in battle-order and they slay and wound no one. For he who will first slay or wound any one of the other host to-morrow morning, shall not inhabit this land till Doom.' 'Perhaps there will be no

¹ *i.e.*, to Oengus and Lugaid, as Rawl. indicates by the insertion of marks of reference over *dóib-sium* and the two names.

² I do not know what *forud* or *fuiriu*d may mean. Perhaps it is O'Clery's *fúireadh .i. ullmhughadh*.

brath.' 'Bess ni hingnad anisin,¹ ar ind ingen, ardaig co cloistis na gillæ. 'Dia mbeind hi cœmthecht na nDesse,² nodolbfaind³ boin deirg do duiniu 7 nogonfaitis Osaigi, in boin sin."⁴

20. Mosdáilet an druid⁵ cosna Deissib fochetoir fothuaid do Chasiul 7 doberat na Dessi leo co m-batar i n-urd matan moch iarnabarach.⁶ Astuat tenid⁷ cairthind ann 7 foidit a diaid sair co Hosairgib. Tecait⁸ Osaigi iarum co Hinneoin 7 fucairthir la Dil na rorubtha 7 na robeota nech dona Deissib ann.⁹ Dolbait dano druid na n-Deisse aithech¹⁰ hi richt bo derge¹¹ . i . Dochet a anmain,¹² ar soire dia chlaind dogrés. Teit iarum ina ndail¹³ 7 cot-meil foraib 7 giallaid gail 7 gonair forsind ath fri Indeoin aniar.¹⁴ Is de asberar Ath Bo Deirge. Conid iarum adchonnatar co mba¹⁵ colann duine iarna guin.

21. Maitte for Ossairgib sair co Handobru¹⁶ (*sic*) 7 imsoat Ossairgi a sain 7 doberat a mbiu¹⁷ 7 am-marbu coema i n-airther Ratha sair.¹⁸ Maidte foraib atherruch o Andobur

¹ Bess ni gontar em ² Mad me bad chend athchomairc
laisna (*sic*) Déssib ³ nodoilfind ⁴ nosgonfatis Ossirge.
⁵ Tochumlat iarsain in da drúith ⁶ Tosberat co mba mattin
foraib i n-urd ⁷ attáit tenti ⁸ Totet ⁹ [fo. 101b 2] Focairther
o Dil arna rogonta nech ann dona Déssib ¹⁰ senaithech and dona
Déisib ¹¹ máile *add.* ¹² Docheth a hainm ¹³ Teit dochum in
tshluaig sair ¹⁴ Cid dognither thiar innossa, a gillai? or Dil. Tene
do fhatóg 7 bó derg do thelcud forsind n-áth aniar. Ni ba hi ma món,
ar se. Na gonat ind fhir in boin, ar se. Noslecet seccu. Nosgonait
gillai na n-ech iarna cúl 7 lecit gair impe. Cissi gáir so, a gillai? or
se. Inna gillai oc guin na bo. Fe fe amái! or sé. Mo charput dam!
ar se. A hord slaitir Indeoin. ¹⁵ corbo ¹⁶ Handobor ¹⁷ beritt
a n-aithbiu ¹⁸ condicce airther Rátha Machuthnoe for brú Andobor

slaying then,' said the girl, so that the young men should hear it. 'If I were in the company of the Dessi, I should by magic shape a man into a red cow, so that the men of Ossory would kill that cow.'

20. Forthwith the druids repair northward to Cashel to the Dessi and take them with them in battle-order early on the next morning. They light a fire of rowan there and send its smoke eastward into Ossory. Thereupon the men of Ossory come to Inneoin, and it was proclaimed by Dil that no one of the Dessi should be slain or wounded there. But the druids of the Dessi formed an old serf, Docheth by name, into the shape of a red (hornless) cow, promising freedom to his descendants for ever. Then the cow went to encounter the men of Ossory and flings herself upon them, and¹ and is killed at the ford² westward of Inneoin,³ whence the Ford of the Red Cow is so called. And then they saw it was the body of a man that had been slain.

21. The men of Ossory were routed eastward as far as the Andobur,⁴ and there they turn and take their

¹ I do not know what *giallain gail* may mean. As Strachan points out to me, the phrase seems a corruption of *gdelain gail*, which occurs in Salt. na Rann, l. 6167. Laud gives a more detailed account: 'What are they doing in the west now, my lads?' said Dil. 'They are kindling a fire and letting a red cow into the ford from the west.' 'That is not my work. Do not let the men kill the cow!' said he. They let her go past them. But the horse-boys behind their back kill her and raise a shout. 'What shout is that, my lads?' said Dil. 'The horseboys are slaying the cow.' 'Woe is me!' said Dil. 'Bring me my chariot.'

² This must be a ford on the river Suir.

³ Also called Indecoin na n Déssi, now Mullach Indeona, a townland near Clonmel. See O'Don. F.M. A.D. 852.

⁴ This I take to be the river Anner, a tributary of the Suir, co. Tipperary. It is called Annúir by Keating (*Gaelic League Series of Irish Texts*, I, p. 204).

co Lainen.¹ Na hothurbi² forfacabsat *Ossairgi* i n-airthiur Ratha rosgegnatar³ na Desse oc tintud⁴ anair. Is de ata Belach n-Eca iar⁵ fiad Ratha.

22. Rannait iarum na Dessi i cetríb rannaib na tiri sin.⁶ Cach clann tarraid in cethramaid sin, ata a chuit isin tir.⁷ Coeca toirgi lasna Dessib, a .xxu.⁸ [fo. 73a, 1] dib tarthatar raind 7 a .xxu.⁹ aile na⁹ tarthatar 7 is dona toirgib sin is ainm Dessi, ar it e fil fo chis¹⁰ 7 dligud 7 bothachas¹¹ na nDeisse¹² dona flaithib . i . do Dail Fiachach Suidge 7 ni hainm doib-side Deisse. Cach¹³ longas tra rofitir Eithne Huathach la Herind dosreclam¹⁴ cosna Deisse, fobith nodigbaitis¹⁵ Dal Fiachach Suidge isna¹⁶ cathaib mencib.

23. Do thoirgib na nDessi inso sis. Dobert¹⁷ Semuin¹⁸ di Ultaib cucu, diatat Semuine.¹⁹

Dobert cucu Nemungin²⁰ di Huaithnib . l . diatat Nechtarge.

¹ conod hi sein in choicrich co brath etir na Deisi 7 Osseirge. Amail ossa, is amlaid rorathatar ass. Is de ata Osseirgi foraiB 7 rofaithaigset na Desi inna tír co brath. ² na hothair ³ nosgegnatar ⁴ impud ⁵ hi ⁶ Ronnit a cetraind tíre hí sein ⁷ Nach duine tarnaid in cetraind sin, ata a chuit ar a raind sin. ⁸ cuic fichet ⁹ nach ¹⁰ deisis ¹¹ bodagas ¹² na nDeisse *om. L.* ¹³ nach ¹⁴ dosfuide ¹⁵ arcrunad ¹⁶ isnaib ¹⁷ Tobeir ¹⁸ Semon mac Oengusa maic Cel[t]chair maic Huithechair ¹⁹ Semoni ²⁰ Nemongen mac Nechtain

wounded and their dead nobles into the front part of Rath Machuthnoe¹ (on the bank of the Andobur) in the east. Again they were routed from the Andobur to the Lainen², (which is the boundary between the Dessi and the men of Ossory till Doom. They ran away like deer (*ossa*).) As the Dessi were returning from the east they killed the wounded men whom those of Ossory had left behind in the front part of the fortress. Hence the Road of Death along the front³ of the fortress is so called.

22. Thereupon the Dessi divide those lands into four parts. Each family which came into this first division has its share in the land. There are fifty septs among the Dessi, of whom twenty-five got a share, while the other twenty-five did not; and the former are called Dessi, for it is they who are under rent and law and hut-tax⁴ to the princes, viz. to the Division of Fiachu Suidge, and the latter are not called Dessi. Every exiled band, however, of which Ethne the Dread knew in Ireland, she gathered to the Dessi, because the Division of Fiachu Suidge had been diminished in so many battles.

23. Of the septs of the Dessi.

She brought Semon (son of Oengus, son of Celtchar, son of Uthechar) of the men of Ulster to them (with 150 men) from whom are the Semuine.⁵

She brought to them Nemongen (son of Nechtan) of the Uaithni, with fifty men, from whom are the Nechtarge.

¹ Not identified.

² This is the river now called Lingaun (from Mod. Ir. Laineán) which forms the boundary between the barony of Iffa and Offa East and that of Iverk.

³ Here I take *fiad* (W. *gîydd*) to be the noun which has passed into the nominal preposition *fiad* 'coram.'

⁴ *bothachas* (*bodagus*), the tax paid by a *bothach* or 'hut-dweller, cottar.'

⁵ Cf. LL. 331c: Clann Sem diatát Semni na nDesi.

Dobert¹ cuco tri macco Lugdach² Cosca britheman Corco
Laigdi a Cassiul. l.³

Tri chóicait dano do thrib maccaib Oengusa maic Derbchon
maic Cormaic Ul[^f]atai, de quibus Mechain.⁴

Coeca do maccaib Feideilmid Brufir,⁵ de quibus⁶ Bruirige.

Coeca do maccaib Odro,⁷ de quibus Odraige.⁸

Nonbur di maccaib Ditha do Ernaib, de quibus⁹ Corco
Ditha.

Cet læch luid Benta in t-eces⁹ di Ultaib, de quo⁹ Bent-
raige.

Nonbur do maccaib Conaill maic Neill, de quo⁹ Condrige.¹⁰

Nonbur do maccaib Suird maic Mugdornæ Duib, de quo
Sordraige.¹¹

Nonbur do maccaib Muindigblæ maic Mugdornæ Duib,¹² de
quibus⁹ Duibrige. Maic ingine Briuin in sin.

. ix . do maccaib Mugdornæ Cerbfir do Chairige.¹³

. ix . do maccaib Laidir maic Firchi do Ldraige.¹⁴

Tri nonbur do Oengus Fingabræ mac Conaire maic Messi
Buachalla do Gabraige.¹⁵

¹ Dobeir ² Luigdech ³ Tri choicait lin Semoin, cóica lin
maccu Luigdech, coica lin maccu Nemongin. ⁴ Coica læch do
maccaib Oengusa Darcon maic Cormaice Aulfata dal maic
Con. ⁵ Feidlimthi Bruirir ⁶ diata ⁷ Bru nó
Odro *R.* di Hultaib *add. L.* ⁸ Odrige ⁹ Cét læch
lin hue maic Bind ind ecis ¹⁰ Conrige ¹¹ Soirt maic Doirna
diata Sorthrige ¹² Muindigblæ maic Maudornæ diata Loch
Muindig hi tirib Maudornæ ¹³ Nonbur do maccaib Cerir maic
Mugdornæ diata Ciarraige. ¹⁴ Nonbur do maccaib Latfir diatat
Latrige . i . maic Fír Ceoch ¹⁵ diatat Gabrige

She brought to them the three sons of Lugaid Cosc, judge of the Corco Laigdi, from Cashel, with fifty men.

Next, 150 men of the three sons of Oengus, son of Derbchu (Oengus Darchu), son of Cormac Ulfata, de quibus Mechain (Dál Maic Chon).

Fifty men of the sons of Fedilmid Brufer, de quibus Brurige.

Fifty men of the sons of Odro, from Ulster, de quibus Odraige.

Nine men of the sons of Dith, of the Erainn, de quibus Corco Ditha.

A hundred warriors was the number of the descendants of Benta (Mac Bind), the poet from Ulster, de quo Bentraige.

Nine men of the sons of Conall, son of Niall, de quo Condraige.

Nine men of the sons of Sord, son of Mugdorna Dub,¹ de quo Sordraige.

Nine men of the sons of Mundechnblæ,² son of Mugdorna Dub, (from whom Loch Muindig³ in the lands of the Mugdoirn⁴ is so called), de quibus Dubrige. These are the sons of Briun's daughter.

Nine men of the sons of Cerbfer (Cerir), son of Mugdorna, from whom are the Ciarraige (Cairige).

Nine men of the sons of Latfer, son of Fer Ceoch, from whom are the Latraige.

Three times nine men of Oengus Fírgabra, son of Conaire, son of Mess Buachalla, from whom are the Gabraige.

¹ He was the son of Colla Menn.

² Cf. Mundechnblai and Mundechnub, LL. 328a 13.

³ Cf. Hinc Loch Demundechn hi tírib Mugdorne, LL. 327h.

⁴ From them the present barony of Cremorne (Crich Mugdorn), co. Monaghan, takes its name.

- . ix . do Afir do Ernaib do Uraige.¹
. ix . do Fír Menn mac Cuscraid Mind Macha maic Conchobuir do Mennraige.
. ix . do mac² Glasschaich maic Moga Ruith do Rodraige.³
Tri nonbuir do Oengus Chreca⁴ mac Conchobuir Mæl maic Formæl⁵ di Ulaib. Is e nochrecad goo⁶ hi Temair. A quo Crecraige.
Binne 7 Eochaid Cóen⁷ do Bintrige 7 do Choenrige. Nonbur doib.
. ix . do Naithir mac Fircheich do Nathraige.⁸
. ix . do Nudfir⁹ do Laignib do Nudraige.¹⁰
. ix . do maccaib Blait do Blatraige.¹¹
. ix . do Nindfir mac Bairche do Nindrige.¹²
. ix . do FíurLuide ar Sid ar Femen do Ludraige.¹³
. ix . do Chærfir¹⁴ di Chruithnib do Chærige.¹⁵
Tri nonbuir do thrib maccaib Bonnfir do Bonnraige.¹⁶
. ix . do Luthor mac Arda do Luthraige.¹⁷
. ix . do Blotchoin¹⁸ di Bretnaib do Blotraige.¹⁹

¹ Nonbor di Haurir do Hernaib diata Aurige ² maccaib *L.*
³ Roithrige ⁴ Crece ⁵ Máil maic Formail ⁶ crec
gai ⁷ Coene ⁸ Nothir mac Fírceoch diata Nothrige
⁹ Nudir ¹⁰ diata Nudrige ¹¹ Blathrig diata Blathrige
¹² *L. omits this paragraph.* ¹³ hiSid ar Femon di Hultaib nad aicidacht
diata Luidrige ¹⁴ Celir ¹⁵ diata Celrigi ¹⁶ Trí maic Boindfir
buachala Eithne diata Boendrige ¹⁷ Nonbur [do] Libur mac Arta
diata Lubrige. ¹⁸ Blóthchum ¹⁹ diata Blodrige

Nine men of Aurir of the Erainn, from whom are the Aurige.

Nine men of Fer Menn, son of Cuscraid Menn of Macha, son of Conchobor, from whom are the Mennraige.¹

Nine men of the son (sons) of Glaschach, son of Mug Ruith from whom are the Rodraige.

Three times nine men of Oengus Crece, son of Conchobor Mael, son of Formael, of the men of Ulster—'tis he who sold spears in Tara—a quo Crecraige.

Binne and Eochaid Coen, from whom are the Bintrige and Coenrige. They were nine.

Nine men of Nothir, son of Fer Ceoch, from whom are the Nothrige.

Nine men of Nudfer from Leinster, from whom are the Nudraige.

Nine men of the sons of Blat, from whom are the Blatraige.

Nine men of Nindfer, son of Bairche, from whom are the Nindrige.

Nine men of FerLuide from Sid ar Femun, from whom are the Ludraige.

Nine men of Caerfer (Celir) of the Picts, from whom are the Caerige (Celrige).

Three times nine men of the three sons of Bonnfer (the cowherd of Ethne), from whom are the Bonnrige.

Nine men of Luthor (Liber), son of Art, from whom are the Luthraige (Luburige).

Nine men of Blotchu of the Britons, from whom are the Blotrige.

¹ Mendraige, LL. 331b, 16.

- . ix . do Grutbit mac Dubain do Grutbrige.¹
- . ix . do mac Buidb² do Bodbrige.
- . ix . do mac Grinnir do *Ulaib* do Grinnrige.³
- . ix . do Gallaib do Muinrige im mac Muinmind.⁴
- . ix . do Maine mac Cuinrige.⁵
- . ix . do mac Dimáin do Darfiniu do Chorco Dimaine.⁶
- . ix . do macco Ennæ Uniche di Gallaib do Choreco Uniche.⁷
- Coeca⁸ do Glasschatt mac Ailella Auluim di Chattrraige.⁹
- Coeca do trib maccaib Mathrach maic Ailella Auluimb do Dal maic Cuirb.¹⁰
- Coeca Tidil¹¹ maic Ailella Auluim do Dal Tidil Cichich forsa mbatar . iii . cicheich.¹²
- . ix . do Magneth¹³ Gall do dal Maged.¹³
- . ix . Michoil do Dairfin[i] u di Dal Michoil.¹⁴

¹ Gubrith maccu Buén diata Gubtrige ² do maccaib Bodb
³ Grán diata Granrige di Hultaib ⁴ *L. omits this paragraph.*
⁵ do mac Ainiu maic Cuirir diata Cuirrige ⁶ Dímáini di Darin
dia-[fo. 101 a 2] tá Corco Din ⁷ Endi Uniche diatat Corco
Huíniche do Gallaib ⁸ Coica fer ⁹ diata Catrige.
¹⁰ Mathrach maic Ailella Auluim. Ingen Fírgair a mathair, diata
dal Mathrach. Cóica d'úib maic Cuirp maic Ailella Auluim diatat dál
maic Cuirp. ¹¹ cóica di huib Didil. ¹² dál Didil cét cíge forsarabí.
¹³ Maignén ¹⁴ Mechon mac Dare di Darine diata dál Mechon

Nine men of Grutbit (Gubrith maccu Buen), son of Duban, from whom are the Grutbrige (Gubtrige).

Nine men of the son of Bodb, from whom are the Bodb-rige.

Nine men of the son of Grinner (Gran) of Ulster, from whom are the Grinnrige (Granrige).

Nine Gauls of Muinrige with the son of Muinmend.

Nine men of Maine (of the Son of Ainiu, son of Cuirer) from whom are the Cuirrige.

Nine men of the son of Dimain of Darfine, from whom are the Corco Dimaine.

Nine men of the descendant of Enne Uniche of the Gauls, from whom are the Corco Uniche.

Fifty men of Glaschatt,¹ son of Ailell Aulom, from whom are the Cattraige.

Fifty men of the three sons of Mathri,² son of Ailill Aulom (Fergair's daughter was their mother), from whom are the Dál Mathrach. Fifty men of the descendants of Mac Corp, son of Ailill Aulom), from whom are the Dál Maic Chuirp.

Fifty men of Tidel, son of Ailill Aulom, from whom are the Dál Tidil Cíchich, on whom were three (a hundred) teats.

Nine men of Magneth (Maignen) the Gaul, from whom are the Dál Magned (Maignen).

Nine men of Michol (Mechon, son of Dare) from Darfine, from whom are the Dál Michoil (Mechon).

¹ He is called Glass Catha, and his descendants Cathraige in LL. 3196.

² He is called Mathreth, and his descendants Dál Mathra in LL. 3196.

Tri nonbuir do maccaib Dorchon maic Huair do Dal
Dorchon.¹

Tri nonbuir do maccaib Luigne² di Ernaib do Dal Luigni.

Coea do trib maccaib Nuidni maic Conrui do Dal Nuidni.³

. ix . do trib maccaib Niamdæ di Dal Niamdæ.⁴

. xi . do Loiscniu mac Cuinniath do Dal Loscind.⁵

Tri lege⁶ Eithne Huathaig diata Dal Niathlega.⁷

Tri maic Moga Caintich do Dal Mogaide.⁸

Tri maic Cairinne cerdda do Cherdraige.⁹

Læmman¹⁰ mac Niathaig maic Briuin, is e cetnagaibed
giallu Ferchair. Fathbrithem.

Cæchros mac Fiaich cetarogaib cath n-Inde do laim.¹¹

24. Teora hingena Ernbraind, Mell 7 Belge¹² 7 Cinnu,
dochuatar co Crimthann¹³ a triur, cach hæ¹⁴ i ndiaid araile.
Sil Mella o Meill. Húi Beilge o Beilge.¹⁵ Eithne namma
ruc Cinnu do.¹⁶

25. O doluid iarum¹⁷ Corbmac asa rige¹⁸ iarna gollad¹⁹
do Oengus mac Artchuirp, gabais Carpre Liphechar in²⁰

¹ *L. omits this paragraph.* ² d'uib Luigni Leithduib ³ Noidne
diata dal Nuidn . i . maic Chonrú maic Dare ⁴ Nimde diata dal
Nimde ⁵ Luisniu mac Cumenath diata dal Luisni ⁶ . iii .
laigni ⁷ Mathlego (*sic*) ⁸ Mugo maic Cuthig diata dal Mugith.
⁹ Tri maic Arme cerda diatat Cerdraige ¹⁰ Læbán ¹¹ rogab
giallu Fer nGair robo brithem rainni caich Ros mac Féice cetnaragaib
cath nIndide do laim ¹² Belc ¹³ Crimthan ¹⁴ dib ¹⁵ Belc
¹⁶ conid hi side dalta na nDéisi 7 rl. *add. L.* ¹⁷ tra ¹⁸ rígu ¹⁹ cháichad
²⁰ *om L.*

Three times nine men of the sons of Dorchu, son of Uar, from whom are the Dál Dorchon.

Three times nine men of the sons Luigne (Lethdub) of the Erainn, from whom are the Dál Luigni.

Fifty men of the three sons of Nuidne, son of Curoi (son of Dáre), from whom are the Dál Nuidni.

Nine men of the three sons of Niamda (Nimde) from whom are the Dál Niamda (Nimde).

Nine men of Loiscne (Luisni) son of Cuinnia (Cumenath), from whom are the Dál Loscind (Luisni).

Three leeches of Ethne the Dread, from whom are the Dál Niathlega.

Three sons of Mug Caintech (son of Cuthech), from whom are the Dál Mogaide (Mugith).

Three sons of Cairinne (Arme) Cerd, from whom are the Cerdraige.¹

Laemman, son of Niathach, son of Briun, 'tis he who first took hostages of the Fir Gair.² He was a seer-judge.

Caechros, son of Fiach (Feice), who first pledged the battalion of Inde (?).

24. The three daughters of Ernbrand, Mell and Belc and Cinniu were all three married to Crinthan, one after another. From Mell are the Síl Mella, from Belc the Hui Beilce. Cinniu bore Ethne only to him.

25. Now, when Cormac, after having been blinded by Oengus, son of Artchorp, gave up his kingship, Carpre Lifechar took the government in the place of his father. This is what he practised every day before his father: he would put two fingers around the tusk-hilted sword and

¹ A different account of the origin of the Cerdraige Tuilche Gossa will be found in O'Curry's *Lectures*, iii, p. 207, from LL. 320*f*.

² The Fir Gair were descendants of Brecc mac Artchuirp. See LL. 3286.

flaith ar belaib a athar. Is i abairt dognid¹ Cormac ar a belaib cach dia .i. dobered a da mer immun colg² ndet 7 a mer hi³ timchul lainne in sceith. Is *ed* noichoisced sain, slaidi mui[n]tíre Cairpre immun mBoin[n] sanchan [fo. 73 a 2] .i. do cach leith.⁴ Is de doloinsich⁵ hi crich Lagen. O rabi⁶ Fiachu Sraiptine 7 Colla Huais⁷ 7 Colla Mend do Mugdornaib⁸ rig na nDeisse⁹ .i. Brecc mac Arttchuirp, rochartsat Laigen (*sic*) uaid¹⁰ siar for Commur trian in tsluaig. Tuait do Chassiul do chuingid chobrad o Oengus. Is annsin marbais Fedelmídar mac hui Braichte 7 Anlathe mac Eogain i n-Etarbaine. Is de ata Carn mBrigti ingen¹¹ Dubthaich maic Duib maic Lugdach di Ultaib.

26. In trian iarum doluid atuaid, hit e turcaibset inn ingin .i. Eithni Uathach ingen Crimthainn. Moalle longsigset Osairgi 7 Corco Laigdi, ar it he batar ech—ech—. Ar gabsat o Chommur tri n-usce co Birra Lagen, i mbatar hi tir Osairge, co Heochair anair. Is de ata Ath Fothart 7 Daire Lagen la Hossairgi. Is inund aimser hi lotar¹² na Deisse for Gabruan¹³ 7 Fene for Fid Mar 7 Fothairt¹⁴ for Gabruan sair. Ar robatar Fothairt for longais iar nGabran¹⁵ iar nguín Echach Domplen maic Carpre Liph-echair do Sarniad¹⁶ mac Cirb¹⁷ brathair Bronaich do Fothartaib.¹⁸

¹ ba sí a breth (*sic*) dogniad ² cailg ³ om. ⁴ in-rochsecht troso dani sladi muintíre Coirpri sainchan immon Bóind di cachleith ⁵ dolonget ⁶ horobíth arna ragegain ⁷ Concla Hos (*sic*) diatat Húi maic Guais ⁸ diatat Mugdornæ ⁹ [fo. 102 a 2] geognaitir rí na nDéisi ¹⁰ leg. Laigin uaidib ¹¹ leg. ingine ¹² tulatar ¹³ Gabran ¹⁴ Fothart ¹⁵ Fothart iar longis for Gabran ¹⁶ Seminaith ¹⁷ Coirpri ¹⁸ diatat Hui Bronaich la Fotharta 7 rl.

one-finger around the boss of the shield. In that way he was instructed to slay the people of Carpre on either side of the Boyne. Hence they went into exile into the territory of Leinster. After Fiachu Sraiptine and Colla Uais and Colla Menn of the Mugdoirn had slain the king of the Dessi, Brecc, son of Artchorp, the men of Leinster drove one third of the host westward to Commur. They sent to Cashel to ask help of Oengus. 'Tis there he killed Fedelmíd Clar, the descendant of Brigit and Anlathe, son of Eogan, in Etarbaine. Hence is the Cairn of Brigit, daughter of Dubthach, son of Dub, son of Lugaid, of Ulster.¹

26. Now, the third who came from the north, 'tis they that reared the maiden Ethne the Dread, the daughter of Crimthann. The men of Ossory and the Corco Laigdi went into exile together, for they² They took land from the Meeting of the Three Waters as far as Birr in Leinster. When they were in the land of Ossory, as far as Eochair in the east. Hence the Ford of the Fothairt and the Oakwood of Leinster in Ossory are so called. At the same time the Dessi went to Gabruan (Gabran) and the Féni to Fíd Már and the Fothairt to Gabruan (Gabran), in the east. For the Fothairt were in exile in Gabruan (Gabran), after Echu Domlen, son of Carpre Lifechar had been slain by Sarniad (Seminaith)³ the son of Cerb, the brother of Bronach, of the Fothairt.

¹ Cf. LL. 328a: Secht maic Brigti ingine Dubthaig de Ultaib: Irruis, Fedlimid Clár, a quo Húi Chláre. Iss ed a charn fil i n-Etarphainiu.

² I can make nothing of ech— ech—.

³ He is called Seniach by Tigernach (*Rev. Celt.*, xvii, p. 23), Sémeon by the Four Masters, A.D. 284. In a poem in LL. 486. 50 Echu Domlén is said to have been slain by Senioth and Sarnia:

*Senioth, Sarnia, noco chel,
is iat romarb Eecho Domlén.*

27. Forsluinte Dal Fiachach Suidge.

Semuinrige, Nechtraige, Bentraige, Odraige, Osraige, Bruirige o Bruru mac Artharu rig Cruthni, Sordraige, Latraige, Carraige, Gabraige, Cairige, Mentrige, Rotraige, Rudraige, Blairige, Ranrige, Luidrige . i . fer luid hi sid, Callraige . iii . maic, Bodraige, Lubentraige, Crobentraige, Corco Che, Corco Ainige, Corco Dithech, Dal Mechoin, Dál Mathrach, Dál Maigne, Dál Luigne, Dál Mencuirp, Dal nInidæ, Dál nUidne, Dál nDorchon, Dorchu mac Linne, Dál Luisene. Hit he insin dia ngairter Deisse . i . ar dihuaise nó ar diahuaise . i . ar immad al-lamdia, nó ar huaise nó ar deisse nó ar diuisse nó ar gaire ind inaid asrogeinset nó ara ndifisse. amail ata a tuirim 7 a taiririud 7 a toirge la cach. Teora bliadna trichat o doludsat¹ na Deisse o Themair co tucsat Lagin dorair doib for Gabruan² 7 for Commur³ Tri nUsci iar maidm secht catha forthu.⁴

¹ dolotar ² Gabrán ³ 7 Chommor ⁴ forsna Déisi 7 rl.
(end of Laud).

27. The by-names¹ of the Divisions of Fiachu Suidge.

Semuinrige, Nechtraige, Bentraige, Odraige, Osraige, Bruirige from Bruru, son of Artharu, king of the Picts, Sordraige, Latraige, Carrage, Gabraige, Cairige, Mentrige, Rotrige, Rudraige, Blairige, Ranrige, Luidrige (viz. a man who went into an elfmound), Callraige (three sons), Bodraige, Lubentraige, Crobentraige, Corco Che,² Corco Ainige, Corco Dithech, Dál Mechoin, Dál Mathrach, Dál Maigne, Dál Luigne, Dál Menchuirp, Dál nInidæ, Dál nUidne, Dál nDorchon (Dorchú mac Linne), Dál Luisne. These they are who are called Dessi, for their great nobleness³ or for the nobleness of their gods, *i.e.* for the number of their idols, or for their skilfulness, or for their great justice, or for their love of the place in which they were born, or for their great celebrity, since their expedition and their wanderings and their marchings are known to every one. It was thirty-three years after the Dessi went from Tara that the men of Leinster gave them battle at Gabruan and at the Meeting of the Three Waters, after having routed the Dessi in seven battles.

¹ forslondud 'over-name,' as distinguished from prim-slondud (LL. 312a). Cf. dá prim-acmi déc do Ernaib 7 cethri forslointe fichet . i . dá forslonnud each sicme, LL. 324e.

² Cf. De Chorco Che, LL. 327e.

³ These are etymological speculations on the name of Déssi.

Side Lights on Welsh Jacobitism.

By J. ARTHUR PRICE, B.A.

INTRODUCTION.

MORE than one Welshman has asked me whether it would be not as sensible to write on the snakes of Iceland as on the Jacobites of Wales. The idea that underlies this remark may be unhistorical, but it illustrates the difficulty of the inquiry to which this paper is a feeble contribution. The religious revival of the eighteenth century in Wales turned Welshmen's thoughts in a direction far away from the cult of "the White Rose of Arno," (David Morgan's poetical name for Prince Charlie) and Welsh Jacobitism is to-day so extinct a tradition, that it does not seem absurd to question its very existence.

That Wales in the eighteenth century was far more Jacobite in political sentiment than was England is a fact which to those who have studied the question must nevertheless seem indisputable. To those, whom ignorance makes sceptical, I may recall a few facts. The greatest test of a political faith is its constancy to death. Even after Culloden there still lived, as the pages of *Redgauntlet* show, in the hearts of the faithful few a hope of aid for the Prince from the land of Wales, where the names Cavalier and Roundhead were still in common parlance as party names. And the hope was not without some foundation. As late as 1751 an almanac that found its way into the peasant farms of Wales, preached treason to the powers that were, in the

following verses, the homage of a Welsh Redgauntlet to the dying Rose :—

(ALMANAC, SION PRYS, 1751.)

“ Y peth a haeddeu ei ystyried yn fwyaf arbenig yn y flwyddyn hon yw Diffygiadeu'r Lleuad ar peth i maent yn ei arwyddo: ni feiddiaf moi egluro, ond mewn *Heroglyphics* ar ol athrawiaeth un Michael Nostradamus.

“ Llid yw affaith lliw'r Diffyg—ei Frydain
Afrwydd-deb a Dirmig
H f d, ddfwn Ryfig
O lwynau Diawl a luniodd y dig.

“ Boed enwog eurog ei Siar-las wrol
Lwys arail ddigymmar,
St r d hynaws diwar
Ein Tywysog bach, tofia ei bar.”¹

Perchance, even then, there were Welshmen who went an inch beyond the homage of wine and song. We know now, thanks to Mr. Andrew Lang's researches, that the picture of the collapse of Jacobitism in the fiasco of the rebellion, portrayed in the last chapters of *Redgauntlet*, depicts in its main details an over true scene. Readers of these chapters will remember Squire Meredyth and his Shakesperian Welsh.

Of the strength of Welsh Jacobitism at an earlier period there can be no question.

In the '45 the two most dangerous men South of the Tweed, in the opinion of English Whigs, were Sir Watkin Wynn (the Brutus of Charles Edward's correspondence) and

¹ I would suggest the following as a free English rendering of the above. “The changes in the Moon and what they portend call for especial note this year. I dare not explain them except through hieroglyphics according to the doctrine of Nostradamus.” “The hue of the eclipse of the moon portends wrath, disquiet, and scorn. The blasphemous Hanoverians, born of the ———, have brought on this feeling of wrath. May the brave Charles, unrivalled in grace, be glorious and crowned with gold, O Stuart, guileless and kindly, our dear Prince, tame their unruly ways.”

the Duke of Beaufort, and they were both Welsh landowners. The Cycle Club in Denbighshire, which was closely associated with the Wynn family, and existed down to our own day, was without doubt at one period an important political organisation, and there is no doubt some truth in the story, that Chambers, in his *History of the Rebellion in 1745* (vol. i, p. 272 *et post*), tells us on the authority of a Welsh friend, that at the time when the Highland hosts turned back on Derby a number of Welsh Squires were riding hard to join Prince Charlie's banner, and only turned back when they heard of the retreat, and that ever after "he was of the company most accounted, who had ridden furthest on the way."

Now, if the sceptic still insists that such facts as those that I have mentioned, only prove the sentiments of the Welsh aristocracy and Bards, it is only necessary to refer him to the curious facts relating to the Jacobitism of the lower orders in Wales, collected in Mr. Hobson Matthews' recent collection of Cardiff documents, though, perhaps, an even stronger proof is furnished by the savage riot with which the miners of Rhôs greeted the accession of the House of Brunswick to the English throne. Welsh Jacobitism being, then, an unquestioned fact, it is surely time to study its history before the disappearance of documents and the failure of tradition render the work impossible.

PART II.

SIR WATKIN AND DAVID MORGAN.

To Welshmen the two most interesting things in connection with the '45 are the waiting of Sir Watkin Wynn and the fate of David Morgan.

On the first point I can now say little, though I hope on another occasion to return to the subject.

Two facts about Sir Watkin's attitude we know without dispute. As the Highland host entered England they received a message to the effect that Sir Watkin had been with the citizens of London, whom he found as well disposed as ever to treat with the Prince. "The Elector of Hanover and his Ministry's interests decline so fast that Sir Watkin says nobody now will accept of their places and employments, which throws them into the greatest distraction" (Ewald's *Life of Prince Charles Edward Stuart*, p. 181; *Wales*, 1894, p. 19). And we know also that the Prince wrote in after days to his father: "Mr. Barry arrived at Derby two days after I parted. He had been sent by Sir Watkin Wynn and Lord Barrymore to assure me, in the name of my friends, that they were ready to join me in whatever manner I pleased, either in the capital or everyone to rise in his own country" (Stanhope's *History of England*, vol. ii, p. 415).

So much for undisputed facts; but on these facts two different conclusions are formed. Mr. Andrew Lang, who is unquestionably the highest living authority on Jacobite history, considers Sir Watkin's Jacobitism, like that of many English Peers, to have been of the Platonic order, that abstained deliberately from taking any practical step until the day after the fair. The other view, which is put forward in that charming story, *For the White Rose of Arno*, is that Sir Watkin and his friends were ready to take up arms, and actually despatched a messenger to the Prince, as soon as he entered England. This messenger, according to the story, had the bad luck to get intercepted. Thus, when the Highland chiefs at Derby offered to continue the advance if the Prince could produce a letter from a single nobleman or gentleman in England or Wales favourable to his cause, Sir Watkin had already written. The despatch of Barry was on this view a second attempt

to get into communication with the Prince. Certainly the story that many Welsh gentlemen were riding to join the army which I have mentioned, also seems to show that Sir Watkin was ready and in earnest. There are, so far as I have as yet been able to learn, no documents in existence that throw much light on the subject one way or the other; the story indeed is that on the retreat of the Prince, Lady Wynn burnt all the papers that would have incriminated her husband, his friends of the Cycle, and in fact most of the Gentlemen of North Wales.¹ It is at least a significant fact that the Prince, in the Council at Derby, when the chiefs refused to continue the advance on London, is said to have vainly suggested that in place of retreating on Scotland, the army should march through Wales.

With regard to David Morgan, I am in a position to add something to what is generally known. Up to the present time, the chief authority for the life of that unfortunate Welshman has been the biographical sketch by Llewelin, and the record of his fate in the *State Trials*. For readers who are not acquainted with Llewelin's Memoirs (published at Tenby 1862), I may, perhaps, here reprint a summary of Morgan's early life, taken from that work.

“The most energetic of all the Jacobites of the South” (*i.e.* South Wales) “was Thomas David Morgan, Barrister-at-Law, of Pen-y-Graig and Coed-y-Gorres. David Morgan was a scion of the house of Tredegar, and so the blood of Ivor Hael ran in his veins. His father was Thomas Morgan, who in 1682 was under-sheriff of the county of Glamorgan. His mother, from whom he probably in-

¹ This story was told to my informant by the late Mr. Wynne, of Peniarth. It is stated that the day after the burning of the papers the soldiers arrived and ransacked Wynnstay for documents.

herited Pen-y-Graig, was the daughter of David Mathew, of Llandaff, by his wife Joan, the daughter of Sir Edward Stradling. He was also first cousin of Admiral Mathews, member of Parliament for Glamorganshire. His wife appears to have been a London lady, and through her he seems to have acquired a considerable leasehold property at Shoreditch. He was a prominent member of a Club known as the 'Independent Electors of Westminster,' which was largely frequented by the magnates of the city. In the opinion of the author of a disgraceful pamphlet written after his death, and put in the form of a speech by his ghost to the members of this Club,¹ all the members fomented the insurrection for which the unlucky Welshman alone died. Two interesting facts in connection with Morgan's relations with this Club the pamphleteer has also preserved. He had an intimate friend in a Welsh Squire of Bedford Street (whom I have failed to identify), and he entirely devoted his attention to the 'High Church' party, whom he sought to convince that the Church had everything to gain by a Stuart Restoration. It also appears from the same source that he rejoiced warmly at Walpole's fall."

Horace Walpole sums up Morgan as a "poetical lawyer." And it is not surprising if his muse found a theme in the fall of Walpole, the great enemy of the Stuart cause. Mr. Ballinger, the Librarian of the Cardiff Free Library, has shown me a printed poem which is ascribed to Morgan. It is not of great merit, though there are occasional flashes of powerful satire. It is in the main taken up with a denunciation of Walpole's pacific policy, and would mark the author if he were living in these days as a strong Imperialist. In his prophetic frenzy he almost

¹ The pamphlet is at the British Museum.

foresees the coming triumphs of Chatham's administration. It is dated 1739, entitled the *Country Bard*, and dedicated to Frederick, Prince of Wales. I give the commencement and conclusion :—

1. "Since Monarchs by Prerogative are wise,
How daring the Presumption to advise!
How idly wild our *Compliments* to pay!
They have the *highest* made them every day;
5. Censure *exalted natures* can't endure,
Censure is Satyr, and too rough a cure.
To compliment, advise, or censure them,
Hence seems an awkward and imprudent scheme,
Nor is it less a misdemeanour held,
10. Rashly to say *the knight hath not excell'd.*
Since it prevails in spite of Common Sense,
Whoever hits the *Courtier* wounds the Prince.
A Prince — not much in Politicks refin'd,
When to a *Courtier's little Arts* resign'd;
15. When grown the *Property of sycophants*,
That know no candour, and abound in wants.
Laymen and *Priests* at C——t all sympathize,
Their Incense Flattery, Truth their Sacrifice.
The *haughtiest P——te*, and the *proudest P——r*,
20. Obsequious cringe with low Obeisance here."
* * *
401. "If VIRTUE can divert the Storms of Fate,
Let our few PATRIOTS save our sinking State.
— Our P[r]ay'rs are heard, arm Britons, scour the
Main,
A few Broad-sides shall humble *haughty Spain*.
405. See dawning Hope creaks on us from afar,
Too long obscur'd in Peace, declares for War.
Bright she advances from yon azure Sky,
Big with success, and fraught with Victory.
Resume your Spirit, Britons, arm again,
410. Heav'n will support us, if we act like Men."

The two following MS. poems in the Cardiff Free Library, the one a circuit song, the other a sarcastic poem on the marriage of a young vicar-choral of Llandaff Cathedral with an old lady, are more interesting.

The latter, in particular, throws an interesting light on the condition of the Church as seen from the eyes of a sympathetic High Churchman in the middle of the eighteenth century.

“TO THE BARR ON THE WELSH CIRCUIT.

“By COUNSELLOR DAVID MORGAN.¹

1

“Friends! frankly I send you my Thoughts,
To my Ballad give Ear ;
I promise it free'er from Faults
Then *this here* and *that there*.²

2

“O Wales! how unhappy thy Fate,
Beyond doubt it's severe ;
Thy Judges, the Farce of the State,
Are *this here* and *that there*.

3

“Which of them is worst, or is best,
The moot Question forbear ;
Poor Creatures, by all its confest,
Are *this here* and *that there*.

4

“*This here*, what a formal dull Fool !
That there what a Bear !
All Ministers have a sure tool,
In *this here* and *that there*.

5

“What a Void and a Chaos of Mind,
In their judgment appear !
To Justice and Candour stark blind
Are *this here* and *that there*.

6

“When obvious Point they'd explain,
They puzzle what's clear ;
All they say, and more than they mean,
Are *this here* and *that there*.

¹ From Ph. MSS., No. 14970.

² Judges Carter and Proctor.

7

"To say, would be wickedly odd,
And so like a damn'd sneer,
That such were the Image of God,
As *this here* and *that there*.

8

"I'll no more in your Circuit regale,
My Companions so dear ;
But Cambria's hard Fate will bewail,
In *this here* and *that there*."

"ON MISS MADDOCKS, AFTERWARDS MRS. PRICE,
OF LANDAFF.

By COUNSELLOR MORGAN.¹

"Hannah, some years ago a Toast,
By Justice *Sly*² admir'd,
For Shape and Features then could boast,
Her Eyes all youths set fire ;
Genteel and easy is her Air,
She learn'd of Lady Betty,
Still of her years a clever Fair,
And justly too thought pretty.

2

"Long had she liv'd a maid, 'twas hard,
To man a perfect Stranger ;
Time had her Frame somewhat impair'd,
Her charms were in some danger ;
Pensive one morn the maid reflects,
Lord ! what have I been doing ?
I have some beauties of the Sex,
They're surely worth the wooing.

3

"My Eyes preserve their Lustre still,
No mortal can deny it ;
Resolv'd I am, marry I will,
If there be Joys, I'll try it ;

¹ From Ph. MSS. No. 14970.

² Mr. Powel, of Eneyslyn,

Then straight her Eyes with Lustre glow'd,
No Lightning e'er flashed quicker ;
They roll'd at Prayers, that from the Pew
Struck thro' the Choral Vicar.¹

4

"The Vicar soon disclos'd his Love,
Supported well by Grany,
At Fifty Hannah he did move,
Tho' clogg'd with Children many :
Marry she must, Fate had ordain'd,
'Gainst all her Friends' Persuasion ;
Nought else could please, 'twas all in vain,
Her Parts in Agitation."

"Made to her Brother, who married a good Fortune in London,
which he spent in entertaining Sir Robert Walpole and other great
men in expectation of a Bishoprick.

"Our Brother does much assume
At Hannah's Indiscretion ;
O! Brother George, look once at Home,
You'll see as odd a Passion ;
Twelve hundred Pounds, quoth George, she's mad,
To Choral Vicar given ;
While he twelve thousand pounds has had,
Priests marry sure in Heaven."

The account of the part played by David Morgan in the '45, alike in Llewelin's Memoirs and in the *White Rose of Arno*, is drawn from the proceedings against him in the *State Trials* (vol. xviii, pp. 371-394). Two facts of importance have also been added by Llewelin, the local tradition of his talk with the smith at Efail Llancaiach, when starting on the fatal expedition, and his remark to Vaughan² on the first day of the retreat from Derby, when the latter declared that wherever the army went he was

¹ Mr. Price.

² There were two of the Court-field Vaughans out in the '45, William and Richard. See article on William Vaughan, *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. lviii, 187.

determined to go with them, which is taken from Lord Elcho's *Memoirs*.

The report of the trial shews that David Morgan, in company with a friend, joined the Jacobite army at Preston, and accompanied them as a volunteer to Derby, taking a prominent part in arranging the plans of the campaign, and being known as the "Pretender's counsellor", that he followed their retreat to Ashburne, where he left them and proceeded to Stone, where he was arrested on suspicion. He was finally, as is well known, executed at Kennington Common, on July 30th, 1746.

The briefs of the counsel engaged in the prosecution of the Jacobite prisoners are, however, preserved in the British Museum, and from a study of the brief relating to David Morgan, I am enabled to throw considerably fresh light alike on his journey to join the Prince's army, and on the position held by him in the army after he had joined it.

The evidence of John Barry (or Berry) occupies only seventeen lines in the *State Trials* report, and as to the unlucky ride of Morgan to Preston, he merely states that he came out of Monmouthshire with his Master and "the defendant," and that they joined the Prince's army at Preston. The proof, however, of John Barry in the brief enables us to follow Morgan and his friend throughout their journey. The proof, which is of sufficient importance for a full transcription, is as follows:—

"That he (Barry) was servant to Mr. William Vaughan in Monmouthshire, and in the beginning of November, last" (of course 1745), "his master told him that he was going a-shooting at Mr. Berkeley's of Speechly in Worcestershire, and bid him get a couple of fowling pieces and the spaniels ready in the morning, and they went to Mr. Berkeley's and stayed there one night, and then his master met with the defendant Morgan, and from thence his master and Mr. Morgan went to Mr. FitzHerbert's house in Staffordshire, and stayed

there one night, and then went to a gentleman's house near Leigh, in Lancashire—but does not remember his name—and stayed there two nights. And then went to Preston, and stayed there all the night before the rebels came, and he says he and Mr. Morgan's servant were ordered by their masters to take the horses to Walton (about a mile north of Preston), and in case any of the rebels came that way, then they were to take the horses to a village four miles further off. And that about 10 or 11 o'clock the said Vaughan and Morgan came to the house, where witness and the other servant were with the horses, stay'd there all night and walked back to Preston the next morning, and directed the witness and the other servant to stay where they were till they came again. And they came again about 10 o'clock the second night, and the next morning directed the witness and the other servant to take the portmanteau and horses and go to Leigh aforesaid; but to wait in the road a little way short of Leigh, till they were come to them. And about 4 o'clock in the afternoon he said Vaughan and Morgan came to them, with each a white cockade in his hat, and then went to the same gentleman's house at Leigh where they had been and lay there that night; and next morning they went to Manchester with the said cockades in their hats and put up at a constable's house behind a church, but does not know the name, and he attended his master at supper the second night he lay there. And there were there the said Mr. Vaughan, Mr. Morgan, and Mr. Murray, the Secretary to the young Pretender, at supper together. And he heard Mr. Morgan call him Mr. Murray. And he saw Mr. Murray go in and out of the said house, where Vaughan and Morgan lodged, several times. And he says his master and defendant Morgan joined the young Pretender's life guards, under the command of Lord Elcho, and rode with them from Manchester to Derby, and his master gave him two guns to carry from Manchester to Derby. And he says, when the rebels went back to Manchester, his time being out with his master, he left him there. As he was going," he concludes "he was taken up and committed to gaol."

These statements clear up several points of doubt in Morgan's story. In the first place they show that Morgan did not, as I thought probable (*Wales*, 1894, p. 20), proceed through North Wales or visit Sir Watkin on his journey, and therefore relegates some interesting chapters in the *White Rose of Arno* to the region of fiction.

In whatever negotiations, therefore, Sir Watkin may have been carrying on with the Prince at this juncture,

Morgan played no part. It also clears up the further point as to the companion of Morgan's ride. It has been always supposed that it was one of the two Vaughans, and the proof makes it clear that it was William and not Richard. How or when Richard Vaughan joined the Jacobite army there is, so far as I know, no evidence. The remaining proofs relate to the action of Morgan after he had joined the Jacobites, and throw a considerable light on the part played by him in the campaign.

Most important on this matter is the proof of Samuel Maddock or Maddox, the informer on whose evidence Morgan was mainly convicted. Maddox, as the chief witness for the Crown, was naturally examined at considerable length; and I do not think that any purpose would be served by repeating here such parts of his evidence as appear in the *State Trials*.

Maddox's evidence at the trial and his statement in the proof, however, contain an apparent discrepancy on a small point to which attention may be drawn. In the report (p. 374) the informer is first asked when he saw the prisoner, and he replied at Manchester. He is next asked "Did he march away from Manchester with the rebels?" and replies: "He marched with them to DERBY, and there being an information given that some arms were secreted from the rebels, he gave orders for a party of the rebel army to go and search for them." Being asked whether the prisoner went with the party, he adds not to his knowledge, and states that he saw "Captain James Dawson" (whose tragic fate Sherstone has told in verse), "deliver him a pair of pistols." In the proof, however, Maddox states that the search for arms took place at Manchester. The proof on this point is as follows: "When the rebels came to Manchester he" (Maddox) "saw the Defendant among them with a white cockade in

his hat, and he was reported the chief man in getting from the Pretender's son press warrants "to seize horses and arms." The proof proceeds to state how information was given to the officers of the Manchester regiment of the place to which a certain Justice Drinckenfield had fled with a large quantity of arms, and then Morgan obtained a warrant from the Prince to send a file of Highland soldiers and Lord Pitsligo (the old Scottish Cavalier of Aytoun's lays) in a fruitless search after him. The discrepancy between the proof and the evidence in the report will not perhaps strike a lawyer as serious, since it is not impossible that Morgan, as a matter of fact, may have been engaged in superintending a search for arms at Derby as well as at Manchester. At the same time, the statement in the proof is interesting, since it makes it clear that immediately on his joining the army, Morgan took a leading position. The rest of the proof is certainly worth transcription, as it very considerably amplifies, though it does not contradict, Maddox's evidence in the report.

"And the witness afterwards frequently saw the defendant upon the march with the Rebels from Manchester to Derby armed with a brace of pistols and a broad sword and" (he) "had a white cockade. And in the retreat to Ashburn the defendant came to the house where the Manchester officers were quartered, where Capt. Dawson of the Manchester Regiment gave him a brace of pistols. And then the said defendant left the Army. This Witness heard the defendant say that he had the offer of the Manchester Regiment made him by the young Pretender, but he refused it, not being a military man. That the defendant was generally with the young Pretender at nights, and lodged in the same quarters with him. And that he acted as spy for the rebel army in observing the Duke's (*i.e.*, the Duke of Cumberland) Army. And further, that while the Rebels were at Manchester, the defendant met Mr. Francis Townley, Peter Moss, Jas. Dawson, George Fletcher, James Bradshaw, Thomas Furnival, all at Mr. Cookson's, the sign of the Dog in Manchester. And the said defendant proposed the raising of a regiment for the said Pretender, to which proposal all

present agreed. And all of them having white cockades in their hats. And then the company considered which should have the command of the regiment, and after a short consultation offered the command to the defendant; but he thanked them, and desired to be excused, saying he did not understand military discipline well enough to take so large a command upon him. And said that Mr. Townley had been in the French service and understood the military discipline much better than he. Whereupon Mr. Townley was named Colonel. And he set his name down in a paper first as Colonel. And the rest set down their names with title of rank in the said regiment. And then the defendant took the list away with him to the Pretender, and promised to furnish them arms, and then ordered a drummer about the town to beat up for volunteers."

The remaining proof in the brief is that of the witness, Edward How, who was Morgan's landlord at Derby. The evidence in the report is in the main similar to that in the proof—but as the latter is short, and throws considerable light on the geniality of Morgan's character, I give it in full:—

"This witness says the defendant and about twenty other rebels, eight of whom were officers, were quartered in his house at Derby when the rebel army was there, and defendant told him that these eight officers were not come to live upon him or anybody else, for they would pay for what they had. And he said the defendant appeared to be the chiefest person of those quartered at his house, and gave all the directions for providing for their entertainment and the witness a guinea and three shillings for such entertainment of himself and the other rebels, and sayd he payd him like a gentleman. And says defendant was then publicly called and reported to be the prince's, meaning the young Pretender's, counsellor. The witness having seen the prisoner in Newgate" (this must have been of course after Morgan's arrest) "who told the witness he would come to Derby and see him again in spight of King George, and all the people in the world, or to that purpose, and he saw the defendant frequently go to the Pretender's lodging-house and never appeared to be under any restraint while he was at Derby."

There exists no proof of the evidence of the other Crown witnesses against Morgan, whose testimony appears in the reports, Edward Tew, of Preston, who gave evidence as to Morgan's conversation with Lord Elcho at the

Joiners' Arms, Preston, Benjamin Bowker, the deputy constable at Manchester, who gave evidence as to the warrant which Esquire Morgan gave him to search for arms in the town, and Captain Vere, the Hanoverian officer, who seems to have been practically a military spy. In drawing any conclusions from these proofs, it should of course be remembered that the evidence it affords is in a sense tainted by the character of most of the deponents. Reading them, however, in connection with the report of this and the other Jacobite trials, and making all allowances, they at least establish the fact that David Morgan was unquestionably one of the prime movers in the rebellion of '45: and that no man outside the circle of Scotch adherents and French and Irish officers possessed greater influence with the Prince.

The result would seem to be that Welshmen may claim, in this country-man, the most active of the Prince's southern adherents, and more, the one man whose advice, if followed, might have placed the Prince in St. James' Palace.

A WHIG SCHOOL-BOY.

I may conclude this paper with certain Latin verses on Culloden, by a Whig Welsh school-boy (or at least a boy educated at Cowbridge school) shortly after the battle, composed, no doubt, with a view of obtaining a half-holiday for the school. The poem is here printed exactly as it was written. The author must be responsible for the syntax. For these verses I am indebted to my friend, the present Head-Master of that ancient school.

"GEORGIDES, VICTAE PROCUBEREE METU.

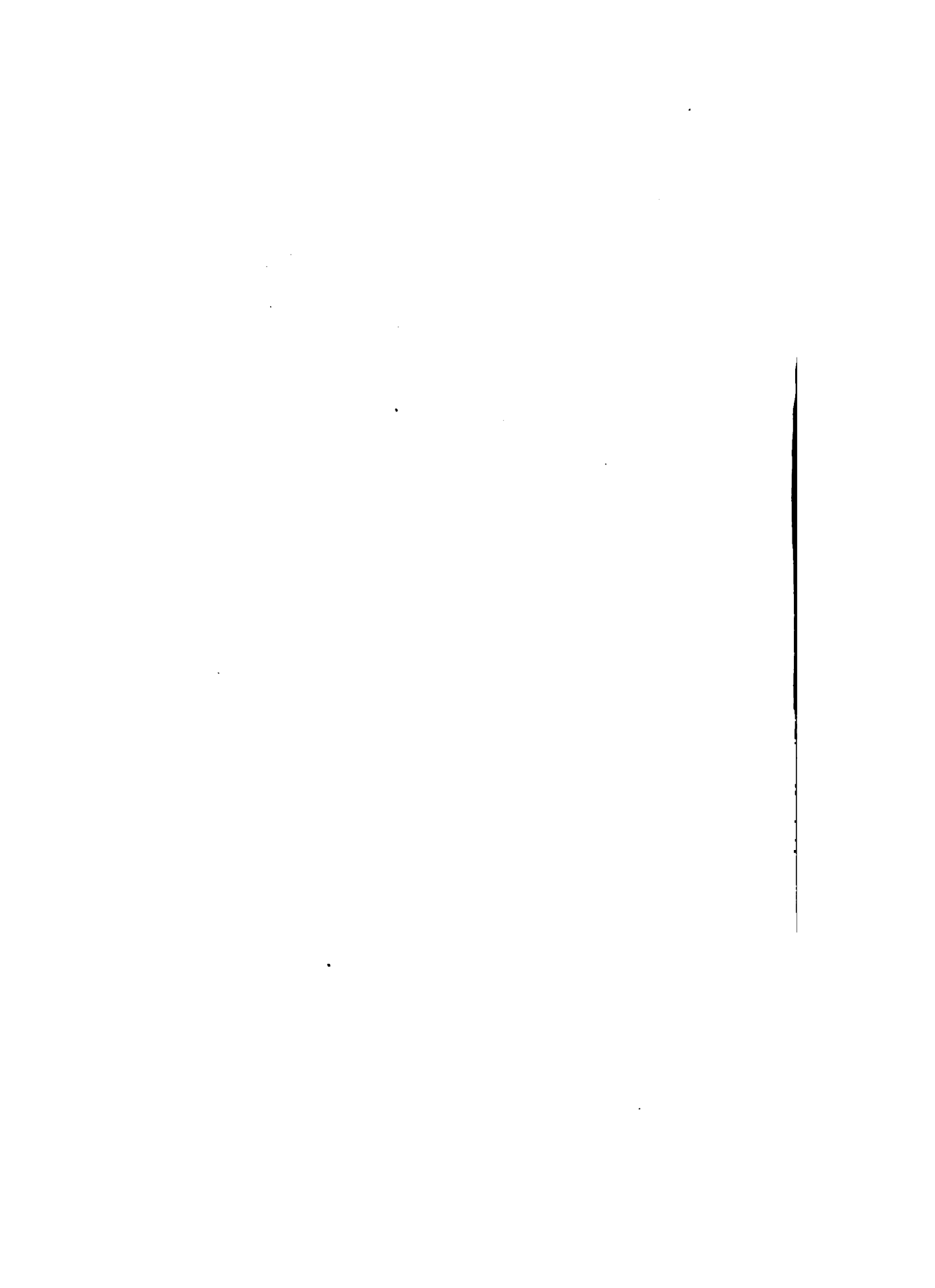
"Reppulit, inque fugam trepidas dare terga coegit,
Vertit in auctores saevaue bella euos.
Qui modo terrebat minitans, nunc dicere causam
Cogitur, et legum subdere colla iugo.

Sic erat in fatis ; sic inconsulta ruit vis,
 Praecipitans fatum saepe sinistra suum.
 Spes ubinunc, Ludovice, tuae vocesque, minaeq¹
 Illa ubi Brunsviciae certa ruina domûs ?
 Si nescis, domus haec humanis altuis ortum
 Traxit, et e coelis, unde perennet habet.
Italus Angliacas regeret peregrinus habenas,
 Brunsviciâ regeret sceptrâ gerenda manu ?
 Demens, illa tibi quando sperare, tuisque
 Ausus es, hunc aleret cum Domus ista DUCEM ?
 Quid parat ille tibi campo monstravit in illo,
 Spes ubi Scotorum, spes tua fracta jacet.
 Scotiae eum pavidâe videre in montibus Alpes
 Tendere, et in summis poenere² castra jugis.
 Non illum montes, non illum sistere possunt
 Flumina, nix et Hiems, difficilesque viae.
 Et levis est, leviorque avium perniciousis alis,
 Cunctantes linquit post sua terga duces.
 Nec mora longa fuit, Cyclopum allabitur oris ;
 Monticolis solo nomine terror errat.³
 Hirta illis mens est, et corporis aemula, qualis
 Et decet agrestes, monticolasque decet.
 Et credas, scopulorum instar, traxisse rigorem,
 Mens adeo est illis efferâ, mensque ferox.
 Barbara gens tota est, effraenaque, et horrida et exlex,
 Sive homines mavis dicere, sive feras.
Aspice Monticolam ; Dii talem avertite pestem !
 Impya Styx illo nil, puto, pejus habet.
 Arma dedit rabies, quaetrux Polyphemus, et ingens
 Sidera qui fulcit, ferre recuset, Atlas.
 Lumborumque tenuis falcatus acinace largo est ;
 Hoc fuit Aetnaei munus opusque fabri.
 Et capite a summo totus jam ferreus ille est ;
 Visus et ingenti mole Colossus erat.
 Tum nova turmatim videas erumpere monstra,
 Aetneos fratres Nubigenasque truces ;
 Tullibardinos, Glenbuckettosque rebelles,
 Totque alios scelerum perfidiaequae duces.
 Quo vos, quo belli rabies, furiaequae, scelesti,
 Praecipitant ? scelerum terror, et ultor adest.

¹ quare minaeque.² quare ponere.³ quare, erat.

Nec mora ; GEORGIDEM venientem fulminis instar,
Quem non posse putat Scotus adesse, videt.
Stant acies : dant signa tubae : concurritur, et mox
Horruit Angliacum barbara turba DUCEM.
Emitat ante alios Miles spectandus in hostem
Regius, in primâ proelia fronte ciens.
Qui vigor oris erat ? qualis pugnantis Imago ?
Aut Mars, aut certe Martis Imago fuit.
Dimicat, et totum castris DUX exiit hostem,
Omniaque ingenti cæde fugâque replet.
Vicini montes, vicini sanguine valles,
Et procul hinc late sanguine terra rubet.
Sic quatit attonitos, sic fulmen vibrat in illos,
Ut dextrâ credas fulmina missa Jovis.
Facti certa fides ; perierunt millia quinque ;
Ipsa facit caedes Cullodenana fidem."





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